DOCTORAL THESIS

What the women have to say
women's perspectives on language, identity and nation in Catalonia

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What the women have to say: women's perspectives on language, identity and nation in Catalonia

by

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Parlen les dones,
la seva poesia
tendra i forta.

Ben pocs s'aturen
a escoltar aquestes veus,
que, trasbalsades,
un nou llenguatge diuen
nascut al fons dels segles.

The women speak,
their poetry
tender and strong.

Very few stop
to listen to these voices
that have stirred up
a new language;
born, they say,
since the beginning of time.

(Montserrat Abelló, *Dins l'esfera del temps*, 1998).

ABSTRACT

The social and political history of Catalonia has long been dominated by debates about language, nation and identity and forty years of linguistic and cultural repression have impacted the sociocultural landscape of the region. The new millennium and new nationalist/gendered identities in the context of changing patterns of migration, growing multiculturalism and economic crisis have led to a resurgence of nationalism and renewed demands for Catalan independence since 2010. Adopting oral history as a central method, this thesis examines language, nation and identity from a gendered perspective and investigates to what extent women use Catalan in their everyday social practices to construct gendered and national identities.

The focus of the study is three female 'generations' from one Catalan village. It covers 50 years of historical change from the 1960s to the present. The thesis explores women's contribution to the preservation of Catalan language during Franco's regime (1939-75); how the emergence of a feminist movement and discourse, and changing patterns of migration, have transformed the relationship between gender and national identity in Catalonia; and the role that Catalan plays today in defining women's (individual) identities and as a nation-building tool. Previous research has not considered an intergenerational approach and this study addresses this gap.

Drawing on theories of nationalism, gender and nation and language ideologies, I adopt a new analytical approach incorporating discourse analysis and small story research to examine the narratives of 40 oral history interviews and a corpus of social media data. In order to organise the diverse themes in

my data I develop a spatial framework in which I identify three principal spaces: physical, ideological and temporal.

Mainstream and political discourse exemplify the Catalan nation as civic, intercultural and tolerant. This study challenges these canonical beliefs. The findings reveal ethnolinguistic ideologies and a complex divergence/ convergence of issues surrounding migration that are difficult to reconcile with official discourse. Specifically the findings provide insights into some of the issues of inclusion and exclusion that are absent in political and nationalist discourse and suggests that an increased understanding of cultural pluralism at a local level can be abstracted to the Catalan community as a whole.

RESUM

Durant molt de temps, la història política i social de Catalunya ha sigut dominada per debats de llengua, nació i identitat i cuaranta anys de repressió lingüística i cultural ha impactat l'entorn sociocultural de la regió.

El nou mil·lenni i noves identitats nacionals i de gènere en el context dels models canviants de migració, l'increment de multicultralisme i la crisi económica va dirigir a un resurgiment de nacionalisme i noves demandes per a l'independència a Catalunya des de 2010.

Adoptant l'història oral com a mètode principal, aquesta tesi examina la llengua, nació i identitat des d'una perspectiva de gènere i investiga fins a quin punt les dones utilitzen el català en les seves pràctiques socials quotidianes per construir identitats nacionals i de gènere.

El focus d'atenció són tres generacions de dones procedent d'un poble català. La tesi abasta 50 anys de canvis històrics des dels anys 60 fins al present. La tésis examina la contribució de les dones en la preservació de la llengua catalana durant el règim de Franco; com l'emergència d'un moviment i discurs feminista i canvis en el model de migracions han transformat la relació entre gènere i identitat nacional a Catalunya; i el paper que juga el català avui per definir les identitats (individuals) de les dones i com a eina per construir la nació. Recerques anteriors no han considerat un enfocament intergeneracional i aquest estudi aborda aquesta llacuna.

Recorrent a teories de nacionalisme, gènere i nació, adopto un enfocament analític inovador que incorpora el anàlisis de discurs i el marc de 'small story' per examinar les narratives de 40 històries orals i una corpus de dades dels

mitjans socials. Per organitzar els diversos temes, he desenvolupat un marc espacial i aplico tres espais principals: el físic, el temporal i l'ideològic.

El discurs polític i prevalent presenta la nació catalana com a cívica, intercultural i tolerant. Aquest estudi qüestiona aquesta creença canònica. Els resultats demostren unes ideologies etnolingüístiques i una divergència/convergència complexa d'assumptes sobre la migració que són difícils de reconciliar amb el discurs oficial. Concretament, les troballes proveeixen un enteniment de les qüestions d'inclusió i exclusió absents del discurs polític i nacionalista i proposen que una major comprensió de pluralisme cultural al nivell local es pot aplicar a la comunitat catalana sencera.

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ETHICS STATEMENT AND PERMISSIONS

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

=	latching (no interval between the end of a prior turn and the start of the next piece of talk)
[	overlapping speech
(.)	pause of less than one second
(1)	timed pause (number in brackets indicates number of seconds)
:	elongation of sound before the colon
(xxx)	unintelligible speech
(( ))	contextual information, such as laughter
“ ”	reported speech
[…]	indicates material has been omitted

(Adapted from Coates & Pichler, 2011).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Names are given in full the first time they are mentioned, followed by the translation and the abbreviation.

ANC	*Assemblea Nacional de Catalunya* (National Catalan Assembly)
CDC	*Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia)
CiU	*Convergència i Unió* (Convergence & Union)
CUP	*Candidatures d'Unitat Popular* (Popular Unity Candidacy)
ERC	*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (Republican Left of Catalonia)
ICV	*Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds* (Initiative for Catalonia Greens)
JEC	*Junta Electoral Central* (Central Electoral Board)
JxSí	*Junts pel Sí* (Together for Yes)
Pla LIC	*Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social* (Proposal for Language and Social Cohesion)
PxC	*Plataforma per Catalunya (*Platform for Catalonia)
PECI	*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración* (Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration)
PP	*Partido Popular* (People's Party)
PSC	*Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (Socialist Party of Catalonia)
UDC	*Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (Democratic Union of Catalonia)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Si prohíbes una lengua a un país, toda su identidad la anulas
If you prohibit a country's language, you annul all its identity
(Clara, 74, 28/4/15).

Nearly 40 years of institutional linguistic repression under the Franco dictatorship from 1939-1975 did not succeed in erasing the Catalan language. Indeed, Catalonia provides an inspiring subject to explore minority language maintenance in a stateless nation and its linguistic immersion policies are considered to be one of the most successful models to follow for reversing language shift in Europe (Fishman, 1991; Newman & Trenchs Parera, 2015; Soler Carbonell et al., 2016). The Catalan language has been a major symbol of Catalan nationalism for centuries and, together with its culture and distinct characteristics of its people, make up what nationalists refer to as the '*fet diferencial'* (differential fact) which relates to specific traits considered unique to Catalan society (Ucelay da Cal, 2013). The social and political history of Catalonia has long been dominated by debates about language, nation and identity and the purpose of this thesis is to explore these concepts through a gendered lens.

1.1 Catalonia: a brief overview

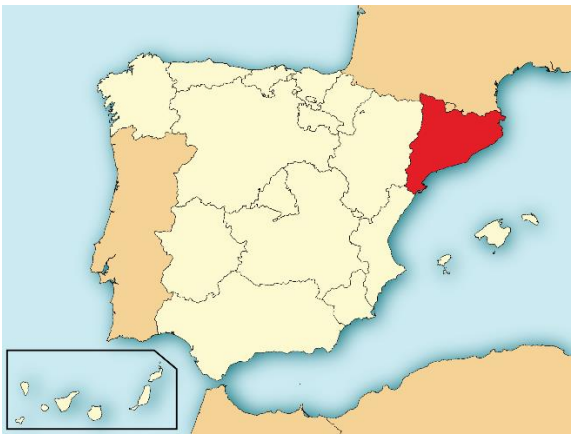

Figure 1. Catalonia (in red)

Situated in north-east Spain, with a population of nearly 7.5 million, Catalonia is one of the most affluent regions in the country. It is an autonomous community with its own legislative and executive power over a number of important competencies including education, language policies, health care, culture and social services (Martínez Herrera, 2002). Catalonia's autonomous condition was first granted in 1931 during the Second Republic but all these powers were removed when Franco came into power in 1939. The proscription of the Catalan language throughout Franco's regime only served to increase nationalist feelings and strengthen national identity, leading to a new wave of Catalanism (Conversi, 1997; Guibernau, 2004). During the dictatorship this was a clandestine Catalanism and emerged as a major political and cultural movement after 1975 (Conversi, 1997). Catalan is now one of its two co-official

languages,[1] alongside Castilian Spanish.[2] The dictatorship had changed Catalonia in other ways: during the 1960s and 1970s there was a massive migratory movement from other parts of Spain. This meant that at the end of the Franco dictatorship, the newly reinstated *Generalitat* (Catalan government) was faced with a monolingual Castilian-speaking migrant population of over 37% (Kleiner-Liebau, 2009). Additionally, there were generations of the native Catalan[3] population who had received no formal teaching of the language and did not know how to write in Catalan. The government began a rigorous programme of language restoration and Catalan was introduced as the single medium of instruction in schools in the 1980s. The success of the Catalan immersion programme means that today 95% of the population understand Catalan (Idescat, 2017a).

Nevertheless, concerns remain about the linguistic vitality of Catalan as Catalonia experienced an unprecedented influx of international migrants at the beginning of the 21st century with more diverse linguistic and cultural differences adding to an already complex landscape. Today, the immigrant population of Catalonia makes up over 13.7% of the population (ibid.) and the Catalan government recognises the importance and the need to foster integration and respect the differences of other people whilst protecting the

[1] Catalan is spoken in Catalonia and also throughout the autonomous communities of Valencia and Balearic Islands, Andorra, La Franja (part of Aragón province) and the Roussillon area of France. It is also spoken in Alghero, a town in north-west Sardinia. This area, called *Països Catalans* (Catalan territories), where Catalan is indigenous is referred to regularly by the Catalan government and state-funded TV (for example in weather reports) and they are accused by some of being Catalan imperialists (Archilés, 2007).
[2] In Catalonia, 'Castilian' and 'Spanish' refer to the same language, with most people using the term 'Castilian'. This term will be used throughout the thesis, unless any of the participants specifically use 'Spanish'.
[3] Throughout the thesis, I define a native Catalan as any individual born in Catalonia with Catalan parents.

Catalan identity (Guibernau, 2004). Attempts to verify the extent of Catalan hegemony is further complicated by the fact that claiming an understanding of a language does not reflect actual usage; current data show that 36.3%[4] of the population cite Catalan as their habitual language against 50.7% who cite Castilian as their habitual language. These concerns, together with the impact of the financial crisis in 2008 and continued tensions between the central state Spanish government and the Catalan government over fiscal and linguistic arrangements, have led to a resurgence of nationalism and the growth of a strong independence movement since 2010 (Crameri, 2014).

This thesis aims to investigate these dimensions of nation, identity and language from a gendered perspective. In order to do this, I have collected data from oral history interviews and social media platforms. The study will explore to what extent women use Catalan in their everyday social practices to construct gendered and national identities. The research focus is three female 'generations' during a half-century of dramatic historical transformation in Spain and Catalonia from the 1960s to the present. Through these three generations, the thesis explores: 1) women's roles in ensuring the survival of Catalan under the Franco dictatorship; 2) women's emerging position as feminists and nationalists during the transition to democracy (1975-1982) and consolidation of Catalan autonomy within the Spanish state; and 3) the new millennium and new nationalist/gendered identities in the context of changing

[4] This figure does not show the whole picture. The metropolitan areas of Barcelona and Tarragona where there is a larger Castilian-speaking migrant population skew this headline figure. As an example, Catalan is cited as the habitual language of 63% of the population of the inland counties, and of 73.84% of the population in *Terres de l'Ebre* in the south of the region (Idescat, 2017a).

patterns of migration, growing multiculturalism, economic crisis and renewed demands for Catalan independence. A central theoretical and interpretative tool in this study is the concept of intersectionality, emphasising gender's inter-connectedness with categories of age, class and ethnicity in particular (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

This research aims to bring together these elements and capture the complexity and the interrelatedness of language, identity, migration and Catalan nation building. Whilst a number of studies look at these dimensions individually or collectively on a wider or regional level (e.g. Alarcón & Garzón, 2011; Ribera i Garijo, 2012; Woolard, 1989, 2016), recent interest in the 'local turn' suggests that

> it is at the local level where the nation crystallises for the individuals via national channels, such as the community's school, town hall, post office, political parties headquarters and parish (Quiroga, 2014: 686).

Quiroga goes on to argue that a focus on the local enables us to consider the particular political, ethnic and socio-economic features of a community that often determine national identities. Thus a local level study allows us to 'bridge historical, political and social perspectives to show how (national) identities are produced and reproduced through everyday experiences' (ibid.: 687).

In an attempt to understand the local dimension, the research focus of this thesis is a case study of the Catalan village of El Masnou. The women of El Masnou are placed at the centre of this study in order to explore their use of Catalan in their everyday social practices. I argue that this local context reveals

different perspectives from those which may be identified at a regional level and I will show this in the findings in the forthcoming chapters.

This study is underpinned by a sociocultural linguistic approach that explores the linguistic and cultural ideologies that shape language use (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The framework for identity analysis developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004, 2005) draws on a broad range of research from fields including language ideologies (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 1998), indexicality (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 2003), stancetaking (Du Bois, 2007) and performativity (Butler, 1990). These concepts will be discussed in chapters two and three.

The focus on the local, together with the attention paid to social practices suggests that a useful metaphor with which to organise emergent themes is that of space. The spatial framework I have developed considers three principal spaces: physical, temporal and ideological. People give meaning to space and use space to make sense of the world and their social identity (Blommaert, 2010; Eckert, 2010). The notion of space as a product of social practice thus shifts the focus of space towards 'more communicative or discursive conceptualisations' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 6). In other words, space needs to be treated discursively as well as physically.

In what follows, I will begin with a brief overview of El Masnou's cultural, social and political history. I will then position my research within the current debates on the salient themes explored in this thesis, set out the research questions and objectives, and conclude with an overview of the thesis structure.

1.2 Contextualising El Masnou

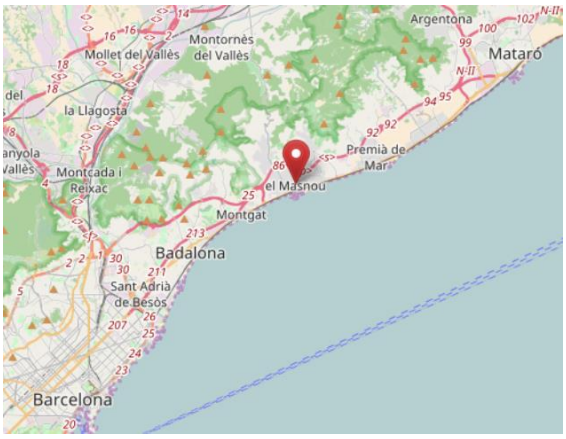

Figure 2: El Masnou

El Masnou[5] is a large coastal village[6] situated 15 kms north of Barcelona in the *comarca* (county) of El Maresme. It is the third most populated village of the county with a population of 23,119 inhabitants (Idescat, 2017b). The Romans settled along the length of the Maresme coast due to its fertile land and left behind a legacy of agriculture still visible today with an important vine production in the hills of Alella, the neighbouring inland village to the north of Masnou. With the fall of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century, many coastal areas were abandoned and remained largely uninhabited until the 11th century (Calls & Tarragó, 2011). Thereafter, once the risk of pirate attacks had passed, fishing communities began to settle on the coast. The land area of El Masnou belonged to two different parishes until 1825 when the village officially became a municipality. The village has a strong and significant history of maritime trade and enjoyed economic growth in the mid-19th century resulting from free

[5] El Masnou, which literally means 'The new farmhouse' is the official name of the town. The definite article 'el' (the) is often dropped in everyday speech. I use both forms interchangeably throughout the thesis.
[6] I describe El Masnou as a village in the thesis even though, officially, as it has a town hall and mayor and given its population, it is a town. It was a village in the 1960s and 1970s, the older women remember it as such and it still has a village feel today.

trade agreements with Latin America. Agriculture also contributed to the economy and the village was an important producer of oranges until the end of the 19th century (Giménez Molina, 2001). In 1848 the first railway in Spain was built along the coast from the county's capital, Mataró, to Barcelona which improved transport links with Barcelona but also had a negative impact on El Masnou. The train line divided the land where the sea merchants worked, the market square disappeared, and access to the beach was reduced. The new railway also resulted in the closure of a number of inns that had served as a resting point for travellers on their way to Barcelona (Giralt & Pera, 1985). At the beginning of the 20th century, Masnou's dominant industries were textiles, tarpaulins and sailcloth. Although the village suffered a downturn with the reduction in maritime trade through the loss of the Spanish colonies, it started to recover in the early period of industrialisation in the 1900s and became a summer residency for the upper-class of Barcelona.

Culturally, the village is the birthplace of some prominent figures in Catalan history. Lluís Millet, one of the founders of the *Orfeó Català*, the Catalan Choral Society, an important symbol of Catalan identity, was born in Masnou in 1867. Another prominent figure in the village's history is Rosa Sensat, born in 1873. Sensat was a teacher and a feminist who introduced into Catalonia a progressive pedagogical method from Europe based on social, cultural and moral instruction and she founded the *Escola de Bosc* in Barcelona, the first school of its kind to practice this method (González Agàpito, 1989). The Scout movement arrived to Catalonia in 1912 and became a manifestation of opposition to the Francoist regime in the 1950s. The Masnou division was founded in 1956 and the first scout group for girls was also established at that

time by Remei, one of the women I interviewed (Amics i Antics Escoltes del Masnou, 2004). The Scout movement was seen as part of the Catalan cultural revival that gave girls some freedom and an outlet to express their Catalanism and political ideology.

Politically, at the turn of the 20th century, as in other parts of the region, Catalan national consciousness was increasing and this led to the founding of the local political party *Gent del Masnou* (People of Masnou) in 1917. With the formation of the Second Republic in 1931, the Catalan left-wing party, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (Republican Left of Catalonia - ERC) led the local government until the breakout of civil war in 1936 (Calls & Tarragó, 2011). In this year, the village's church was looted, burnt and almost completely destroyed. The village was also targeted by Franco's army and suffered several bombings of the railway line, principal roads and buildings (ibid.). Following the death of Franco in 1975 and the subsequent establishment of a Catalan Autonomous government, the right-wing party *Convergència i Unió*, (Convergence & Union - CiU) won the first democratic elections in 1980 and would remain in power in Masnou until 2003. The *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (Socialist Party of Catalonia - PSC) won the elections that year and remained in power in Masnou until 2011 when CiU once again took office until 2015 (ibid.). Since 2015 the village has been governed by the left-wing party, ERC.

As in other parts of Catalonia, El Masnou's population changed significantly following the civil war (1936-1939) when it felt the effects of the influx of internal migrants from other areas of Spain. The population increased by 40% from

5000 in the 1950s to 7000 during the 1960s. Poor infrastructure, due to the chaotic planning regime of Franco's government, led to social problems in the village including lack of housing, water supplies and overcrowding in the schools (Calls & Tarragó, 2011; Ofer, 2017). After 1975, migration was further augmented by international migration from outside Spain that initially came from West Africa in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Senegalese and Gambian migrants arrived to El Masnou and other villages along the coast of the Maresme as fruit or flower pickers and they were followed by Moroccan and Latin American migrants. Of the village's current population of 23,119, the number of foreign inhabitants is 1,885[7] or 8.15% of the population (Idescat, 2017b).

1.3 Positioning the study

Between 1931 and 1936, the period known as the Second Republic, Spain began a process of social change and decentralisation. Catalonia negotiated home rule and was the first region to be granted the status of an autonomous community (Carr, 1980). The Spanish republican programme of reform included radical changes in favour of women's rights. Women achieved legal equality with men and were granted, among other things, the right to vote, divorce and work in public office (Carbayo-Abengózar, 2001). Following the Nationalist victory in the civil war, when Franco came into power in 1939, women lost these rights and were returned to a position of subordination. Co-education was prohibited, civil marriage, divorce and abortion were abolished

[7] This figure cannot accurately represent the foreign population of the town as many international migrants may have obtained Spanish citizenship.

and women were confined to domestic life; the regime constructed them as the stalwart of the New State (Díaz Sánchez, 2013).

Women have been considered pivotal in constructing nations, as both biological reproducers and as transmitters of culture. However, despite their crucial role, they have often been excluded from the male-dominated public domain and hidden in the private domain of the home (Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989). Symbolically, women and motherhood have also been used to represent the nation. Franco's National-Catholic ideology constructed women as the symbol of the nation through a new image based on traditional religious values of purity, motherhood and domestication. Furthermore, women were seen as the guardians of culture and language (Morcillo, 2000). In the quest for a culturally and linguistically homogenised Spanish state, the teaching and public use of Catalan were all prohibited in Catalonia in 1939 (May, 2012). Thus Catalan women were oppressed both under the National-Catholic ideology and through the prohibition of their language. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the discrimination of women during Franco’s regime propelled a political and feminist consciousness (Nash, 2013). In the transition to democracy between 1975 and 1982, women’s movements campaigned for new legislation on divorce, abortion and birth control. During this period a dynamic women's movement emerged in Catalonia, new female identities and roles were constructed that went beyond traditional nationalist definitions of women as mothers of the nation (Nash, 2007). These movements were grouped around the urban areas of Barcelona and women played a crucial

role in the urban protests and in the demands for better living conditions and equal pay for women (Balfour, 1989).

There is a large body of literature, mostly in Spanish, on women's movements in Spain that explores their struggle for emancipation. Many focus on women's repression and imprisonment both in the post-war period (e.g. Cuevas, 1998; di Febo, 2006; Morcillo, 2000) and the transition to democracy (di Febo, 1979; Escario et al. 1996; Ruiz Franco, 2007). In the specific context of Catalonia, Nash (1996; 2007) explores Catalan nationalism in relation to the development of Catalan women's movements. Relatedly, Llinàs (2008) recounts the importance of the feminist movement in Catalonia during the transition. Other studies look at the important role of women in the neighbourhood movements of the 1970s and 1980s (Parramon, 2008; Trayner, 2002). Whilst these studies focus on the historical aspects of women and nation building they do not consider the role of women in identity construction and nation building today. Publications in English include Brooksbank Jones' (1997) monograph on women's position in post-transition Spain which focuses on their increased presence in sectors such as film, literature and the media. In their excellent book, *Gendering Spanish Democracy*, Threlfall et al. (2005) explore women's experiences in Spanish politics and society. They discuss the increased presence of women in political parties, policies affecting domestic violence and sexual harassment in the workplace as well as changes in gender relations in Spanish society. However, neither of these studies look at the intersection of gender with other elements such as age, class, ethnicity or regional/national identity.

1.3.1 Renewed nationalist projects

Despite assertions of a decline of nationalism in the 21st century (Hobsbawm, 1990), there has been a renewal of interest in nations and nationalism with a resurgence of nationalist movements. In recent years, Europe has seen the emergence of populist parties at both ends of the political spectrum; left-wing populism in Greece (Syriza) and Spain (Podemos) and right-wing parties such as Front National in France increasing their share of the vote. The refugee crisis and immigration concerns have led to the rise of right-wing populism gaining momentum (Engesser et al., 2017). In stateless nations such as Quebec, Flanders, Scotland and Catalonia, this renewed interest has been related to an increase in globalisation and 'the transformations currently affecting the nation-state' (Guibernau, 2004: 10). By this Guibernau refers to social movements defending the people's right to 'decide on their own political destiny' (ibid.). Moreover, the effects of globalisation mean that people are fighting against the loss of control and fragmentation of their societies (Castells, 2010a). This translates into increased feelings of collective identity; a national consciousness and the desire to defend a given culture and history promoted by the force of nationalism (Billig, 1995; Castells, 2010a; Wodak et al., 2009).

In the context of Catalonia, since the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, the independence process has been steadily accelerating. There has been a rise in secessionism through grass roots social movements (Guibernau, 2013a, 2013b, 2014) and a resurgence of ethnic identity anticipated by Miley (2007; 2013). However, the complexity of Catalan society today as a plural

and transnational space needs to be recognised and thus it is crucial to explore this multicultural context through an intersectional approach.

1.3.2 Language and identity

There is a plethora of work on Spanish national identity (e.g. Martínez Herrera & Miley, 2010; Medrano, 2005; Muñoz, 2009) and regional identity (e.g. Echeverria, 2003 on Basque identity, Beswick, 2007 on Galician identity). In the case of Catalonia, recent studies on regional/national identity come from the fields of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and political science. The latter focuses on voting behaviour by Catalans and non-Catalans in recent elections and local referendums (Muñoz & Guinjoan, 2013; Rico & Liñeira, 2014); use of mass media to enhance Catalan identity (García, 2013), the tension between ethnic and civil identity (Miley, 2007, 2013; Serrano, 2013) and finally, assimilation processes of migrants into Catalan society (Barceló, 2014). Language has traditionally been considered a principal component for individual and group identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Edwards, 1985; Fishman, 1972; Pujolar & González, 2013) and in many theories of nationalism, language is posited as one of the central elements in the creation of a national identity (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990). In the field of sociolinguistics, in the Catalan context, interest in Catalonia has resulted in extensive research in relation to language policies (Aspachs Bracons et al., 2008), bilingualism (Pujolar, 2007), second language learning (Pujolar, 2010), ethnicity and class (Block & Corona, 2014) and the interface between language attitudes, ideologies and identity (Woolard, 1989; 2016). Numerous studies have been carried out to examine the politics and ideology that

surround the Catalan language as a symbol of identity and the challenges to maintain the language (Strubell & Chamberlain, 1996; Pujolar, 1997; Pujolar & González, 2013). Other studies have explored language choice in relation to ethnicity and bilingualism (Woolard, 2011; Woolard & Frekko, 2013) and the effects of compulsory language education on identity (Aspachs Bracons et al., 2008).

As previously mentioned, Catalonia's linguistic immersion polices have been particularly successful in re-establishing Catalan in the public sphere and making it the main institutional language and the principal medium of instruction in schools. However, the reach of Catalan in the social sphere has not necessarily achieved the same success, leading some scholars to dub it a 'classroom language' (Galindo, 2008). This has led to a number of sociolinguistic studies in the school setting. For example, linguistic anthropologist, Kathryn Woolard (1989, 2016), carried out longitudinal ethnographic studies in a secondary school in the metropolitan area of Barcelona to explore changing attitudes towards Catalan. In her earlier research she found more of a divide between Castilian-speaking and native Catalan-speaking adolescents and reluctance on behalf of the former group to speak Catalan, which was seen as a language of prestige (Woolard, 1989). Woolard's (2016) later work concludes that Catalan maintains its status as the prestige language, however there is a shift from an ethnolinguistic identity to an anti-essentialist approach to the language. Similarly, Corona et al. (2013) conducted a longitudinal study with Latin American adolescents and found that whilst at school they rejected the Catalan language, the young men found

themselves in low-skilled service jobs and recognised the value of multilingualism to access the Catalan labour market (see also Corona, 2016 and Garzón, 2012). Other research with Latin American groups have found a similar negative attitude towards the language although this attitude was generally related to being embarrassed to speak the language or reception of the migrants by native Catalans rather than an identity issue (Newman, 2011; Rey et al., 2010; Trenchs Parera & Newman, 2009). Whilst it is agreed that the school setting is a rich site for sociolinguistic research (Codó & Patiño Santos, 2014; Heller, 2006; Martín Rojo, 2010), there are only a few studies with a gender focus (e.g. Corona et al., 2013; Corona, 2016). Other studies have explored the intersection of class with migrant language attitudes in the school setting (Codó & Patiño Santos, 2014) and in adult language learning (Frekko, 2013; Pujolar, 2007). However, again with a few exceptions (e.g. Pujolar, 2007), gender is not considered. Thus, the intergenerational gendered approach of this study offers a unique focus that explores the slow process of change or continuity of these big social categories across the three generations.

1.3.3 Migration

The transformation of Catalonia, and indeed the rest of Spain, into a migrant destination has led to a proliferation of migration studies (e.g. Arango, 2013; Solé & Parella, 2003; Zapata Barrera, 2004, 2010). Women constitute a considerable percentage of migrants and there is a growing body of research on the impact migration and transnationalism have on their lives (Zontini, 2010). Recent studies of migrant women in Spain include Vives' (2010) study

of Senegalese women in southern Spain that considers both their country of origin and host country and Oso (2012) and Parella's (2012) work on the insertion of migrant women into the Spanish labour market. Studies into the migration phenomenon in Catalonia are often focused on debates surrounding identity, integration and the impact of other languages and culture on the Catalan identity (Parella, 2003, Rivera Farfán, 2016; Zontini, 2004, 2010) and Catalan integration policies (Franco Guillén & Zapata Barrero, 2014; Zapata Barrero, 2012a). Transnational practices are also explored, for example in Zontini´s (2004) research on how Moroccan and Philippine immigrant women cope with transnational lives in Barcelona. As with the language studies, the research on migration in Catalonia has been principally carried out within the urban areas of Barcelona or other larger cities which, as already noted, may reveal different perspectives from those found at the local level.

1.3.4 Oral history, discourse analysis and social media: distinctive methodological approach

This thesis offers a distinctive methodological approach by combining oral history with discourse analysis, which allows for a richer understanding of the data and provides a tool to explore how discourses are shaped by broader social and cultural ideals. An additional new approach in the study includes analysis of social media data in order to situate the women's oral narratives within the wider Catalan society.

In the field of oral history, a number of projects have been carried out in Spain, beginning with Roger Fraser's (1979) influential work *'Blood of Spain'* which

documents the experiences of the republicans during the civil war. Whilst there is a growing body of oral history projects with women, they are mostly centred on their experiences during the civil war and the period of Francoism, many of them focusing on women's imprisonment in the Francoist prison system (e.g. Cuevas, 1998; Hernández Holgado, 2005; Mangini, 1997). In her book *'El Silencio Roto'* (1994), Romeu Alfaro presents testimonies from two generations of women: survivors of the civil war and their daughters. Other oral histories on that period include an oral history of the education system under Franco that reveals an elitist education programme that discriminated against gender and socioeconomic status (Bedmar Moreno and Montero García, 2010) and women athletes' invisibility in sport under Franco (Pujadas et al., 2012). On the subject of nationalism, although again covering the same historic period and with no gender focus, Johnston (1991) conducts an oral history study of the reactivation of Catalan nationalism during the dictatorship. More recently, Carrie Hamilton (2007) explores the Basque separatist and nationalist group ETA from a gendered perspective. To my knowledge, there are no oral history studies that investigate three different generations of women through an intersectional lens.

In terms of social media, there is a growing body of research that examines nationalism, national identity and new media (e.g. Anyefru, 2008; Kaldor-Robinson, 2002; Khondker, 2011; KhosraviNik & Zia, 2014; Lee, 2006; Saunders, 2011), however to date none of the studies have taken a gendered approach. My analysis in chapters four, five and six principally adopts a discourse analytical approach, whilst in chapter seven I also draw on the 'small

stories' framework as a heuristic for the social media data. The small stories framework was developed as a paradigm for narrative and identity research that examines short, often fleeting interactions (Bamberg, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2005) and has recently been applied to examine communication on social media platforms (Dayter, 2015; Georgakopoulou, 2013).

The interdisciplinary nature of this thesis adds to the existing body of work in the fields of oral history, sociocultural linguistics and new media. It adds a distinctive methodological approach by combining oral history narratives with discourse analysis, social media analysis and the small story framework. Situating the study in one location has allowed me to focus on the local dimension and enhance understanding of the complexities of language, nation and identity in Catalonia in a local context.

1.4 Research questions

This study explores how women use Catalan in their everyday social practices to construct gendered and national identities and examines how their perspectives can be understood by wider historical, social and cultural conditions. In doing so the study will address the following research questions:

- To what extent did women contribute to the preservation of Catalan language during Franco's regime?
- In what ways have the emergence of a feminist movement and discourse, and changing patterns of migration, transformed the relationship between gender and national identity in Catalonia?

- What role does Catalan play today in defining women's (individual) identities and as a nation-building tool? How is this reflected through their linguistic social practices?

- How do women see their role and the role of Catalan in shaping identity and nation in the future?

The objectives of the research are:

- to explore women's role in Catalan language maintenance in the home during Franco's dictatorship;
- to examine to what extent the next generation built their national identity through their use of Catalan, particularly through education;
- to understand the way age and generation may shape subjectivity and national identity;
- to identify if the discourse on nation and identity in relation to gender has changed over the course of the last fifty years;
- to explore the present process of nationalisation and, given its dynamic nature, how this may differ from 25/50 years ago;
- to discover differences/similarities between native Catalan women and migrants on their use of Catalan and how this affects their national identity;
- to explore migrants' attitudes to the language of their host country.

1.5 Overview of the thesis

The structure of the thesis in the forthcoming chapters is as follows: In chapter two, the theoretical concepts of nation, nationalism and national identity are reviewed. In line with the social constructionist approach that frames this study, the discursive construction of nation and national identity is emphasised. I examine the relationship between language and identity and the debates around language ideologies. The chapter also introduces

transnationalism, the compatibility of integration and transnational practices and, through these practices, the blurring of social, cultural and physical boundaries. I discuss the lack of attention to gender in classical nationalism theories and the role of women in nationalist projects, highlighting the dominant representation of women as reproducers and symbols of the nation and their exclusion from the public sphere. These theoretical debates are contextualised in relation to Catalonia; I describe the development of nationalism in Catalonia and its resurgence in the 21st century.

Chapter three considers in detail the methodological and analytical frameworks and the methods used in this study. I discuss oral history and its application and the concept of intersectionality that is a central interpretative tool. The sociocultural linguistic approach is introduced in this chapter together with the analytical frameworks of stance and indexicality. I describe the research methods adopted and rationale for their use. I discuss discourse analysis and the compatibility of incorporating this method with oral history and introduce the small story framework applied to the social media data. The chapter explains the overarching spatial framework that I have developed to organise the diverse themes in my data in which I identify three principal spaces: physical, ideological and temporal. Finally, the chapter discusses ethical concerns and reflects on some of the challenges surrounding the fieldwork process.

The following four analytical chapters present the analysis and interpretation of the data. Chapter four considers the women's narratives of linguistic and cultural repression and resistance during the Franco regime and identifies

contradictions in this narrative. By examining perspectives of both native and migrant women, I explore the changes in attitude towards the Catalan language and consider perceptions of continued repression in present-day Catalonia. Chapter five introduces the history of migration in Catalonia from the first national migrants to the present-day situation. It examines the integration policies, how these are interlinked with language policies, and the government's shift from an assimilationist approach to migrant integration to today's intercultural model. I consider three main themes in the women's discourse of integration: language, place and culture and explore the women's understanding of integration. These themes uncover tensions between the Catalan model of integration and the women's narratives and reveal a complexity that cannot be addressed with a simple native/migrant binary. Chapter six explores the discourses of identity and shows how historic, political or socio-cultural factors can shape individual identities and how they develop and change over time. The chapter examines the ethno-linguistic divide between native and non-native Catalan speakers and reveals how national identity is constructed through discourses of difference. I also show how the narrative of a homogenous Catalan identity can be subverted through the construction of multiple, transnational and hybrid cultural identities. Chapter seven, the final analytical chapter, introduces the social media data and the background to using social media as a tool for grassroots activism. I describe the small story analytical framework and explain in detail the methods used to analyse the dataset as well as the rationale for using the Catalan referendum campaign as a case study. This chapter explores the concepts of national identity, gender and nation at a wider societal level and compares these with

the women's narratives. Further, it studies women's places in the home, workplace and political arena and shows whilst there is a mix of continuity and change in the gender relations and roles in post-Franco Catalonia, nationalist discourse continues to reproduce traditional binary gender identities.

The concluding chapter synthesises the findings and emphasises the importance of adopting an intergenerational and intersectional approach to study changes and continuities and to avoid reducing women to a homogenous group. This approach also aids understanding of how the intersection of multiple identities shapes each woman's unique experiences. The chapter discusses the women's everyday practices of language use and reveals contradictions between the women's narratives and Catalan government policy. The chapter argues that discourses of inclusion and exclusion constructed by the women show the complexity of these issues that are based on ethnolinguistic ideologies, cultural differences and ignorance of the other and argues for a deeper understanding of cultural pluralism at a local level in order to benefit the wider Catalan community. I reflect on the study's limitations and suggest potential areas for future research. The chapter concludes by highlighting the study's contributions to knowledge.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In this chapter I will first map out the study's main theoretical concepts of nation and national identity drawing on key debates in the field from the last thirty years and considering their continued relevance in the recent resurgence of nationalism. A brief introduction to transnationalism is also included. I will then discuss the importance of language in the construction of national consciousness and summarise the leading literature on gender and nation to examine the dominant representation of women as reproducers and symbols of the nation. In the second part of the chapter I will show how these concepts come together and are applied in relation to the thesis and in the context of Catalonia. Through an exploration of its history and its current situation in the 21st century, I describe the development of nationalism in the region and discuss the salience of nation and national identity in present-day Catalonia prompted by continued tensions with the Spanish government and the rise of migration and transnational practices.

2.1 Conceptualising nation and nationalism

Despite assertions that in the future nations and nationalism 'will be present in history, but in subordinate, and often minor roles' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 182), the pre-eminence of nationalism in the 21st century defies claims of its decline and empirical evidence shows increases in nationalist sentiment over the last three decades (Malešević, 2013). In the post-Cold War period and into the 21st

century there has been a resurgence of national projects and thus renewed interest in the concepts of nationalism and national identity (Smith, 2011). Given the scope of this chapter, it is not possible to review all the literature on nations and nationalism. However, I will briefly discuss the key schools of thought pertinent to this study through the work of four of the principal scholars in the field: Smith (1986), Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1990) and Anderson (1983). In what follows, I will contrast three of the main paradigms: primordialism, ethno-symbolism and modernism. Whilst Catalonia portrays an image of a modern, civic nation, in practice, Catalan nationalism combines elements of the different paradigms.

The primordialist paradigm of the nation holds that people descend from a common ancestor and this is what generates feelings of solidarity and a sense of identity. It takes group identity as a given and holds that all societies have attachments based on blood, race, language and religion. Ethnic identity and ethnic bonds are said to be deeply rooted in people's historical experiences of family, community and primary groups (Llobera, 2004). For the purpose of nationalist movements, the nation is often reified and presented as a natural and permanent phenomenon. Primordial and essentialist discourse is often found in the media and everyday society. For example, in the case of Catalonia, the public television channel, TV3, has been criticised for its overt essentialist and exclusive broadcasting, frequently airing programmes with a pro-independence agenda (Crameri, 2014).

The ethno-symbolist school of thought, developed by Anthony Smith, emphasises the importance of myths, symbols and historical and cultural

memories as the foundation of national identity (Smith, 1986, 1991). With this theory Smith tries to find a middle ground between the more extreme notion of primordialism and that of modernism. He supports the modernist approach to nationalism and the notion that nations are a modern construct. However, Smith attests that the study of 'ethnies', or ethnic communities, is pivotal to understanding why and where nations were formed and why different nationalisms have different features. He argues that the nation is derived from 'the ancient social formation of the ethnie', with 'ethnie' representing the elements of a group's culture that are derived from its origin and history, thus giving the sense of an enduring community that is one of its key features (1998: 188). Smith recognises that ethnies and nations are not synonymous. Nations have, among other things, clearly delimited territory, legal rights and economic unity that ethnies lack, although both do have shared memories, myths and an identifying name. A further distinction between the two is that nations transcend ethnies and can often contain more than one 'culture-community' (1998: 196). This is evident in the heterogeneous nature of nations today where elements from various ethnies are incorporated into modern day nations, such as Spain or the United Kingdom. Smith does acknowledge the generic elements of ethnies: shared culture and history, myth of common ancestry, are mostly subjective. He stresses that rather than any 'objective' ethnic reality, an ethnie is

> essentially social and cultural: the generic features of ethnie are derived less from 'objective' indicators […] than from the meanings conferred by a number of men and women over some generations on certain cultural, spatial and temporal properties of their interaction and shared experiences (Smith, 1986: 22).

but can gain some level of objectivity through social reproduction that produces

> a structure of social relations and cultural institutions that persist across the generations, independent of any individual beliefs and perceptions (Smith, 2000: 66).

Despite critics of Smith's ethnie and ethnosymbolist approach (e.g. Armstrong, 2004; Hobsbawm, 1990, Özkirimli, 2003), as Billig (1995) argues, the notion of a sense of community or a group claiming their own unique history and culture must have existed prior to the 18th century and some nation-states would have been created out of older loyalties. Billig gives the example of the Highland kilt, a modern invention but one that celebrated the older tradition of the Highland clans.

The modernist approach strongly contends that the nation was conceived as a result of the changing needs of industrialist societies and rejects primordialist theories of nations as cultural 'givens of social existence' (Geertz, 1994: 30). Influenced by the Marxist tradition, two of the central modernist theorists, Gellner (1983) and Hobsbawm (1990) take an instrumentalist approach to the theory of nation and argue that it was created and exploited by elites in pursuit of their own interests. Gellner defines nationalism as a political principle: 'primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' (1983: 1). He derives his theory by paying attention to the transition from the agrarian era to the industrialised era, and puts emphasis on the importance of mass standardised public education to sustain what he terms high culture: 'literate, training sustained culture' (ibid.: 38). In the industrial world, Gellner argues that nationalism becomes a necessity. The world

becomes technical, people need to be educated to function in society and therefore there is a need for standardisation and homogenisation (ibid.). The industrialised society is based on 'high-powered technology' and precise communication is needed between strangers, transmitted through a standard language, hence the need for a standard public education system (ibid: 33). In this modern society, what is needed is a context-free communication so people can relate to one another. This means sharing a common culture and language. Gellner contends that nationalism is the imposition of a high culture society on a previous low, local culture and multi-cultured society; he defines it as 'the organisation of human groups into large, centrally educated, culturally homogeneous units' (ibid: 35). Gellner further links nationalism with modernity in his argument that 'it is nationalism which engenders nations, not the other way round' (ibid.: 55). Gellner's theory is formed around an identification of the power of the elites in the creation of the nation. He goes on to suggest that the elite selectively use

> pre-existing historically inherited proliferation of cultures or cultural wealth […] The cultures it claims to defend and revive are often its own inventions or are modified out of all recognition (ibid.: 56).

I acknowledge that the role of the elite cannot be ignored and as I will discuss later on, they played an important role in the revival of nationalism in Catalonia in the 19th century, and still do today. However, critics of Gellner argue that his theory is too functionalist and contest that whilst mass education is important for the spread of nationalism, a 'taught' culture, rather than family culture, cannot be the basis for a population's national consciousness (Smith, 1998: 39). Gellner's failure to recognise the importance of culture and identity, according to Smith, underestimates 'the scope and power of nationalism and

of its ethnic roots' (ibid.: 177). One of the difficulties with Gellner's theory is that he suggests that nationalism does not exist in stateless societies. This can be disproven by looking at the current re-emergence of nationalism in stateless nations such as Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders. Gellner fails to address any theory of ethnicity, ignores the existence of national sentiment in his theory and fails to explain why people are willing to give up their life for their nation (Guibernau, 1996).

Historian Eric Hobsbawm, like Gellner, considers nationalism a political movement and the nation a product of modernity. He contends that nations and nationalism are constructs brought about by a process of 'social engineering' (Hobsbawm, 1983: 13). Hobsbawm contests the antiquity of nations and holds that nations, national symbols and nationalism became established through invented traditions, which he describes as:

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (ibid.: 1).

Hobsbawm distinguishes three overlapping types of invented tradition:

> a) Those establishing or symbolising social cohesion and collective identities; b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority and, c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour (ibid: 9).

Like Gellner, Hobsbawm considers nationalism to be an elite movement with invented traditions being constructed from above to manipulate the masses and create a sense of identity. However, he accepts that nationalism also needs to be analysed from below and that the community also needs to be considered. In this way he describes a dual approach to nationalism: the

political elite-based ideology and the popular nationalism based on 'the hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 10). Smith (1998) argues that an ethnic past is important for Hobsbawm's 'invented' nation; the inventions must resonate with the people otherwise it will fail to mobilise public support. This can be seen in the analysis of the social media data in chapter seven. Many Catalan invented cultural traditions are used to raise national consciousness and mobilise the public to support the independence movement. The practice of 'social engineering' to construct the nation continues with language politics and Hobsbawm considers language to be an important tool for state power. Linguistic nationalism requires official recognition of a language as 'national' and this was made possible by the spread of literacy through mass education. Hobsbawm attests that power, status, ideology and politics are at the heart of linguistic nationalism, not communication or culture (Hobsbawm, 1990).

Another scholar who situates language as central to the spread of nationalism, who provides one of the most influential theories of nation and nationalism is Benedict Anderson. Like Gellner and Hobsbawm, Anderson (1983) conceives of the nation as a construct and in his seminal work, *Imagined Communities*, he defines the nation as:

> an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (Anderson, 1983: 6).

Anderson thus suggests that nations are created when individuals imagine themselves as part of a communion and this explains the sense of belonging

and ‘deep, horizontal comradeship’ they feel (ibid.: 7). He differs from Gellner’s and Hobsbawm’s theories of an elite-led nationalist movement in that he considers individuals’ imagination of belonging to a community as a way of constructing the nation rather than a process of social engineering. Anderson also traces the beginnings of nationalism to the 18th century, and departs from the notion that nationalism has to be understood by aligning it with large cultural systems that preceded it, such as the religious communities, with the decline in the 16th century of sacred languages such as Latin, and dynastic realms. This decline was due to a number of factors including economic change, scientific discoveries and the development of rapid communication. Anderson contends that the invention of the printing press in the 16th century together with the commodification of print languages was the foundation of national consciousness; print languages created unified fields of communication below Latin and above spoken vernaculars and Anderson argued that ‘much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities’ (ibid.: 133). This phenomenon, which Anderson terms as ‘print-capitalism’, made it possible for a large number of people to become aware of the rest of their population through print and thus marked the beginnings of the imagined community. Printing also gave a fixity to language and helped build an image of antiquity. Finally, through print-capitalism came the standardisation of vernacular languages. This resulted in a transformation of power relations as it created discursive spaces that became delineated by a dominant standard language.

Whilst I principally draw on Anderson's theory of nationalism to inform this thesis, in line with the social constructionist approach, one of the critiques of Anderson's theory is his lack of attention to the political dimension and the role that institutions such as governments and schools play in the transmission and preservation of nations and nationalism (Breuilly, 1996; Guibernau, 2004). As I will show in the next section, elite and political dimensions played a central role in re-establishing and preserving the Catalan nation. I also acknowledge and incorporate elements of ethnosymbolism. However, following Garralda Ortega (2014), my understanding of the features that make up ethnies, such as shared culture and history and the myth of common ancestry, is that they can be viewed as discursive constructions, produced and reproduced as a result of social practices across time and space.

A final critique of Anderson, and indeed the other key theorists discussed here, coming mainly from feminist scholars (e.g. Mayer, 2000; Walby, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 1997) is the lack of attention to gender in their theories of nationalism. I will discuss the relationship between gender and nation later in the chapter.

2.2 Ethnic and civic nationalism

The tendency to divide nationalism into 'good' or 'bad' forms of nationalism has been the subject of debate since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Shulman, 2002). The 'bad' ethnic contrasting with the 'good' civic was introduced by Hans Kohn (1944) who geographically made a distinction between 'Western' and 'non-Western' nationalisms. This distinction is expanded by Smith (1991) who differentiates between 'ethnic' and 'civic'

nationalisms. Civic nationalism, usually defined as inclusive, volunteristic and liberal, developed in Western Europe and the United States whilst ethnic nationalism, defined as exclusive, ascriptive and illiberal, developed in Eastern Europe and Asia (ibid.). Smith attests that civic nationalism in the West was largely political and the nation was based on citizenship. On the other hand, Eastern or ethnic nationalism was developed from ethno-geographic boundaries and thus the notion of nation was based on 'a community of common descent' (ibid.: 11).

This binary division of nationalism has been highly contested by other scholars. For example, Brah (2005) questions whether Smith's categories of East, West and Asia refer to geographical territories or political communities (and also notes his failure to consider Africa, South America and Australia). She also argues against 'civic' being applied only to Western nations, arguing that non-Western nations are also made up of political communities. Similarly, Brubaker (2004) contends that the distinction civic/inclusive versus ethnic/exclusive cannot be used as all forms of nationalism can be simultaneously, or differently, inclusive and exclusive, depending on the particular criteria for inclusion or exclusion. He gives the example of a civic nation including all citizens, regardless of their differences. However, he argues that, as citizenship is sometimes restricted, the civic nation can therefore also become exclusive. If the Western/Eastern dichotomy is removed, one area where Brah and other scholars are in agreement with Smith is that almost all nations combine elements of civic and ethnic nationalism. For example, Hobsbawm (1990) described French (civic)

nationalism as having a strong component of a distinct sense of peoplehood, thus construing it in an ethnic sense.

Whilst ethnic and civic nationalisms are abstracted categories and cannot be considered definitive descriptions of any national project (Keating, 1996, 2001), Brubaker puts forward an alternative to the dichotomy. He suggests 'state framed' nationalism instead of civic and 'counter state' nationalism in the place of ethnic (2004: 144). In state framed nationalism, he argues that the nation is territorially and institutionally connected to the state. Counter state nationalism, however, is, by definition, in opposition with the existing state. Brubaker states that this distinction avoids ignoring the cultural and ethnic elements in a supposedly civic nation and vice versa (ibid.). Whether civic or ethnic, what is evident from the above discussion is that all nationalist projects are exclusionary. As Spencer and Wollman (1998: 256) contend, there will

> always be people who are not part of the nation, the nation is always framed with the presumption of the existence of the outsider, the Other, against which the nation is itself defined and constructed.

Hence nationalism cannot be simplistically divided into ethnic, civic or political. As argued by Keating (1996: 3), the intersection of politics, social, cultural and economic elements needs to be considered and this is what 'gives every nationalism its particular meaning'. In a national project, both ethnic and civic nationalism can be used as two distinct forms of nation building and both play a part in the creation of a national identity. In relation to Catalonia, following the death of Franco in 1975 and the massive increase in immigration, the Catalan government has promoted a civic nation building project. However, some scholars contend that Catalan nationalism continues to be based on

ethnicity (García, 2013; Miley, 2007), and as I will show in my data, there are contradictions to the dominant portrayal of the Catalan national model. The historical and present-day context of Catalonia will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

2.3 Transnationalism

Migration is an important historical and present-day dimension of Catalonia. This thesis explores both national and international migrants' perspectives and hence it is necessary to also examine transnational practices.

As discussed above, the construction of a national consciousness largely depends on cultural narratives and political or institutional intervention in creating a demarcated nation-state with which a group of people can identify. However, increases in migration and cross-border flows can alter people's perspectives of strictly defined national boundaries (Bhabha, 1994). Transnationalism is not a new phenomenon; migrants have maintained links with their homelands for hundreds of years (Vertovec, 2010). However, the way migrants stay in contact with their countries of origin has changed and transnational practices have intensified over the last two decades due to advanced technologies and reduced telecommunication and transport costs (Castells, 2010b).

Vertovec defines transnationalism as:

> The simultaneity of current long-distance, cross-border activities, especially economic transactions – which provide the recently emergent, distinctive and, in some contexts, now normative social structures and activities which should merit the term transnationalism (Vertovec, 2009: 3).

On the same lines, Guarnizo (1997: 288) considers transnationalism ‘as a series of economic, sociocultural, and political practical and discursive relations that transcend the territorially bounded jurisdiction of the nation-state’. Finally, for Faist et al. (2013: 8), the term transnational refers to ‘a process by which migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations to link together their societies of origin and settlement’. These definitions have in common the multi-layered characteristics of transnationalism and the implications transnational practices have on migrants’ social, political and economic lives. Thus, transnational practices can be defined as cross-border activities carried out by individuals, collectives or organisations that may involve the physical movement of people or goods across national borders or may include a level of cross-border connectivity between individuals or organisations (Faist et al., 2013). Whilst not all migrants engage in transnational practices, individuals should not just be perceived as either transnational or non-transnational. Faist et al. (2013) argue that transnational practices should be understood as part of a continuum with varying levels of intensity of transnational ties in diverse contexts or at different stages of the life course.

In the context of this study, the transnational perspective focuses on the degree of cross-border social and familial connection and transnational practices between and within the country of origin and host country, which can be defined as transnational social spaces (ibid.). The concept of a transnational space refers to ‘relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties

reaching beyond and across borders' (Faist, 2010: 14) and in its simplest form consists of social ties between at least two individuals (Faist et al., 2013).

2.3.1 Hybrid identities

An increase in transnational practices can result in a blurring of physical, cultural and social boundaries and thus, as Bhabha (1994) suggests, the dilution of national narratives that are central to nation building projects. Identities can be affected by transnationalism and an individual can form 'a dual mode of belonging' (Faist et al., 2013: 35). This can lead to the creation of a hybrid identity.

A hybrid identity, as argued by Hall (1992), suggests the creation of a new identity through the synthesis of two or more cultures; the meeting point of these cultures constituting what Bhabha calls a 'third space' which 'may open the way to conceptualizing an *inter*national culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*' (Bhabha, 1994: 38, original italics). Bhabha argues that a 'third space' enables individuals not to follow the dominant narrative but instead to produce a new national 'counter-narrative' and subvert dominant discourses (ibid.: 300). Sakamoto also follows this argument:

> a borderline culture of hybridity is a powerful and creative 'third space' through which 'newness enters the world', subverting the authority of the dominant discourse (1996: 116).

Scholars acknowledge it is important to consider these fluid identities and the symbolic and subjective ties that migrants create in their transnational practices (Faist et al., 2013; Levitt, 2003). Related to this point is the debate

surrounding the interaction between integration and transnational practices and whether they are compatible concepts. Some scholars argue that integration and transnationalism are not necessarily binary opposites and migrants' experiences can be thought of as a moveable gauge, similar to Faist et al.'s (2013) concept of the continuum (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Migrants may change transnational practices according to the situation in which they find themselves, for example they may connect more regularly with their home country during election periods or engage with the host country's traditional customs more if they have school-age children. In this way migrants construct context-dependent '*ways of being'* (ibid.: 595).

Migrant studies have often focused on differences between ethnic groups. For example, in their study on migrant integration in the Netherlands, Snel et al. (2006) found that certain ethnic groups perceived as more 'culturally different' from the hegemonic culture had more difficulty in balancing integration with transnational practices. This approach has been criticised for 'essentialising the national' when in practice neither the majority nor the minority population are likely to be homogenous groups (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013: 870). As Erdal and Oeppen (2013) argue, and as my findings will show in the following chapters, both national and international migrants' transnational practices are more nuanced than a simple choice between integration and transnationalism.

2.4 National identity and its discursive construction

Within the scope of this thesis it would be impossible to discuss the many different theoretical approaches to identity and thus the focus will be on what

is pertinent to this study. My understanding of identity is grounded in a social constructionist approach that argues that our knowledge and ways of understanding the world are constructed through interaction with others (Burr, 2003). We construct our identities through this interaction with the social world. The social constructionist perspective on identity views identities as fluid and dynamic and historically, contextually and discursively produced through language and other social practices (Wodak et al., 2009). Identity is relational and defines 'the relationship between two or more related entities in a manner that asserts a sameness or equality' (ibid.: 11). It is also through the construction of difference, the 'relation to what it is not' that identity is constructed (Hall, 1996: 4). Identity is also multi-dimensional and the diverse identities we perform intersect in many different ways (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The notion of identity as performative was introduced in gender theory by Judith Butler. In her seminal work, *Gender Trouble*, Butler criticises the essentialising practice of constructing the category of woman as a coherent, homogenous and stable identity (Butler, 1990). She argues that identities are constructed from the 'multiplicity of cultural, social and political intersections' (ibid.: 19). Butler draws on the concept of performativity to explain how gender is constructed through 'doing'. This is a repetitive act and it is through repetition that a performance becomes naturalised. Hence, it is through a particular performance of gender that has been transmitted through generations that a socially established, essentialist meaning of gender is constructed and these iterations can reinforce binary conceptions of gender relations (ibid.). Butler's theory of performativity can be applied to other identities and demonstrates

how any performance of identity is done in relation to dominant or other ideologies to make it legitimate and recognisable.

In relation to national identity construction, the idea of a collective identity is central to Anderson's (1983) theory of the nation. One of the important contributions of his *Imagined Communities* is the notion of a discursively conceived nation. The imagined community is real inasmuch as an individual is convinced by it and identifies with it emotionally. Claiming that a nation is imagined by its members leads to the idea of a socially constructed community, and this community and its collective identity is constructed through discourse, principally through narratives of national culture. National identity is one form of social identity and, as argued by Wodak et al. (2009), national identity is the product of discourse. This view is shared by other scholars.[8] Hall, for example, argues that

> national culture is a discourse - a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves […]. National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identify […]: (1996: 613).

Hall however questions the putative unifying aspect of national identity. He argues that all modern nations are cultural hybrids made up of different cultures, social classes and ethnic groups yet national culture seeks to unify these differences into one culture. Hall suggests that national identity is formed and transformed in relation to how a particular culture is represented. He uses the example of how we know what it is to be English 'because of the way

[8] See for example Calhoun, who defines nationalism as a 'discursive formation' (1997: 3) and also Özkirimli (2005).

“Englishness” has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture’ (ibid.: 612). The narratives of the nation give the people stories, images, rituals and symbols that represent ‘sorrows, triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation’ (ibid.: 613). However, Hall also acknowledges that our discourses of national identity are context-dependent, a point corroborated by Wodak et al. (2009):

> there is no such thing as one national identity in an essentialist sense, but rather […] different identities are discursively constructed according to context, that is, to the degree of public exposure of a given utterance, the setting, the topic addressed, and so on (ibid.: 186-7).

In order to bring together and instil national identity in its people, the nation’s political elite use mass education, which increases literacy and thus communication among the population. This helps develop a sense of community which is also transmitted through culture; symbols, rituals and traditions all help to build national consciousness (Guibernau, 1996; Smith, 1991). There is a consciousness of a community forming through the use and display of symbols and repeating rituals or ceremonies thus it is necessary to create occasions where members feel united. Individuals’ sense of belonging is heightened and, through intense emotion, people identify with the nation and actively feel a part of it (Guibernau, 1996).

However, symbols can only have a value to those who recognise them; they establish a boundary and distinguish the nation from outsiders. Symbols, such as the flag, anthems, memorials and national architecture have particular meanings to individuals and can evoke individual memories or feelings (Smith, 1991). Guibernau (1996) argues that it is important to recreate and reinterpret

symbols to avoid them becoming meaningless and maintain their vitality. If these symbols weaken, the sense of the community can weaken. Thus, the highly visible national discourses that are seen in national day celebrations are not enough to sustain a national consciousness. This is where Michael Billig (1995) puts forward the notion of banal nationalism based on the reproduction of national identity in the banal, everyday arena. Billig argues that through imagining the nation as a cultural and continuous process it becomes 'part of a wider ideological, discursive consciousness', and it is in this consciousness that 'nations, national identities and national homelands appear as natural' (Billig, 1995: 10). He contrasts banal nationalism that, due to its familiarity, can often go unnoticed with 'hot' nationalism which arises through strong social movements during times of social unrest (ibid.: 44). Billig suggests that nationalist concepts are grounded in the 'unwaved flag' which is a more covert way of displaying nationalism and an unconscious action in quotidian life and these are crucial in the reproduction of national identity (ibid.: 41). Similarly, Edensor (2002) argues that whilst history, memories and myths are important elements, a purely historical approach ignores the influence that popular culture has on national sentiment. He stresses that national identity should also be looked at through a contemporary analysis of how it is experienced in everyday life. Both Billig and Edensor offer interesting approaches towards understanding the dynamic nature of national identity. Likewise, Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008: 545) consider how national identity is (re)produced through the way ordinary people make national choices with the newspapers they read or their friendship groups, how they 'perform' the nation through participation in ritual performances or how they 'talk' the nation in their everyday lives. All

these scholars argue that through different forms of everyday life, national identities are reproduced through various semiotic discourses that reify and naturalise the nation.

2.5 Language and nation

Castells (2010a: 56) strongly argues that, as a strategy of cultural resistance and to reinforce their identity, communities use language as the 'refuge of identifiable meaning' and as a differentiating marker between groups. He contends that nations are produced through

> the labours of shared history and then spoken in the images of communal languages whose first word is *'we'*, the second is *'us'*, and, unfortunately, the third is *'them*' (ibid., original emphasis).

Indeed, as already mentioned, print languages, according to Anderson (1983), were the basis for national consciousness because they created unified communities and fields of exchange. They also gave a fixity to language which enhanced the image of the antiquity of the nation. Printing in the standardised language enabled a community of people to communicate with each other despite variations in dialects. Thus through print came the realisation that people belonged to a particular group defined by a common language.

Whilst scholars of nationalism agree that language is important for national identity and national consciousness, the modernist approach views it as instrumental whilst the primordialists and ethno-symbolists see its value in emotional terms (Llobera, 2004). From an ethno-symbolist viewpoint, language is considered one of the defining factors of national identity, and

following the German philosopher Herder[9], as a 'vehicle for thought and feeling' (ibid.: 86). Language plays an emotional role in national identity, not just a communicative one, and the emotional appeal of a language must be considered when analysing people's attachment to it. Languages provide other strong links for individuals, such as the singing of a national anthem, folk songs or through poetry (ibid.). Armstrong (1982: 8) also considers how language can be used as a 'linguistic border guard' which can both open and close a community to others. In this sense, language is often used as a symbol of independence and to mark the creation of boundaries. For instance, in the formation of the new nation-states from the former Yugoslavia, the Croatian language was distinguished from the Serbo-Croat Cyrillic alphabet by reverting to the Latin alphabet (Harris, 2009).

As already discussed, the modernist approach to nation considers language an important element in creating national consciousness. Gellner (1983) considers that, in the industrial world, the community needed to communicate in the same language, and this was achieved through a national education. Hobsbawm (1990) considers linguistic nationalism a process of social engineering; essential for state power, language and literacy were spread through mass education. Language was one of the crucial elements associated with the definition of nation and was used as a differentiator, distinguishing 'us' from 'them' (1990: 46). However, as Hobsbawm argues, prior to mass education, a national language did not exist. There was a

[9] Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) was one of the early thinkers of the idea of nation and nationalism. He is considered the founding father of linguistic nationalism and an early proponent of the notion that language determines the way we think (Mar Molinero, 2000).

standard vernacular for literature, but not for the illiterate masses. Each community had its own dialect and 'mother tongue'. Thus, he contends that literary language was constructed and semi-artificial (ibid.: 54). Linguistic boundaries followed the politics of state-making and language therefore can be seen as another modern 'imagining' that has become important for establishing the hegemony of a nation-state (Billig, 1995: 31).

It can be seen how the debates surrounding language become ideological when discussed in terms of nationhood. Anderson's connection between language and nation assumes a homogenous, monolingual society. However, as Gal (1998) asserts, the language as well as the community must be imagined to achieve unity. The notion of one nation/one language creates what Blommaert (1999: 1) terms 'language ideological debates' and links language ideologically with an authentic linguistic community. The notion of linguistic ideologies and authenticity will be discussed in the next section.

2.6 Ideology and language

In what follows, I will briefly outline the broad concept of ideology followed by, more specifically, language ideology.

A complex and contested concept, there is a lack of consensus of a definitive definition of ideology (van Dijk, 2000). Since the term was first coined in the 18th century as a 'science of ideas' (Silverstein, 1998: 180) it has been developed by many theorists, most notably Marx in the 19th century and further developed by Marxist scholars such as Althusser (1971), Thompson (1984)

and Williams (1977). A critical interpretation of ideology views it as a modality of power that contributes to 'establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation' (Fairclough, 2003: 8). Dominant ideology constitutes and preserves power relations and gives the hegemonic group the ability to 'project one's practices as universal and "common sense"' (Fairclough, 2001: 27). In this way, dominant ideologies become widely accepted as common sense, naturalised attitudes of a whole community (van Dijk, 2006). In the context of this study, ideology will be defined as a system of beliefs that are specific to a particular social group; these beliefs are reproduced and fundamentally ingrained in that group's social practices (van Dijk, 2000, 2006; Woolard, 1998). Ideologies are linked to social practices and polarisation of two groups is a prominent feature of ideological structures (van Dijk, 2006). For example, I have discussed how nationalism as an ideology naturally creates the boundaries of a nation and therefore creates an 'in-group' where its members are defined by their distinction from an 'out-group'. Ideologies are 'acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse' (ibid.: 115).

Language ideology draws on the broad concepts of ideology as a shared system of beliefs or ideas and relates this to language specifically. Following Woolard (1998, 2016), I define language ideologies as

> socially, politically and morally loaded cultural assumptions about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms in a given society (2016: 7).

In this way, language ideologies are not just about language, but they link language to 'group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to

epistemology' (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994: 56) and ideologies of language use underpin many social institutions such as the nation-state, education and gender (ibid.). Thus language ideologies are central to the construction of national identities. As Irvine and Gal (2000) argue, the mother tongue, itself a powerful language ideology, has a privileged role in shaping ethnonational identity.

Gal and Woolard's (2001) conceptual framework proposes two main ideological concepts that underpin linguistic authority in modern western societies: authenticity and anonymity. Anonymity is the notion that a language does not belong to a particular group but is a neutral vehicle of communication (ibid.). The concept of anonymity is related to hegemonic languages that appear to be 'from nowhere' and belong to no one; they are open and available and everyone in a particular society is able to use a 'common, unmarked public language' (Woolard, 2016: 25).

Authenticity concerns the idea that a particular language is 'rooted in and directly expresses the essential nature of a community' (Woolard, 2016: 7). In this way, to claim a language belongs to a specific group reinforces a dichotomy of authentic/inauthentic, thus establishing an 'in-group' (native speakers) and an 'out-group' (non-native speakers). The concept of authenticity relating to nations and language was used as an ideological tool in the late 18th century, founded in Herderian notions of the monolingual, ethnically homogenous nation-state (Bauman & Briggs, 2003). Indeed, according to Hobsbawm, language became the 'central, increasingly the

decisive or even the only criterion of potential nationhood' (1990: 102). In contrast to an anonymous language, however, to be authentic, a speech variety must be 'from somewhere' and the principle meaning of the authentic voice is 'what it signals about *who* one is rather than *what* one has to say'; the signalling is a form of social indexicality and emphasis is on the indexical meaning of use of a particular language rather than its referential use (ibid.: 22, original emphasis). The concept of authenticity is often reserved for minority languages and has been explored in a number of recent studies. For example, Coupland (2012) looks at Welsh linguistic authority in a study of English/Welsh bilingual signs and O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) examine the tensions between new and native speakers of Galician regarding authenticity. I will return to the concept of indexicality and discuss in more detail in chapter three.

While the distinction that Woodard makes between authentic and inauthentic speakers explains well the way that Catalan is treated as an identity marker, there are other ways that this relationship can be explained. Specifically, as Woolard (2005) argues, the association between language and the speaker can often go beyond the function of indexicality where the meaning of the language (in ideological terms) is associated with the speaker. That is to say, the speaker may become an embodied representative of the language ideologies through the process of iconisation. Iconisation is one of three semiotic processes in language ideology identified by Irvine and Gal (2000) whereby linguistic forms become embedded in a particular social group and appear to depict its inherent essence (ibid: 37). In other words, a linguistic form

is not only perceived to index but also be an image of the essence of a person. Woolard (2016: 23) suggests that 'such iconicity is itself the essence of linguistic authenticity'. Thus, a native Catalan speaker is understood as an icon of the Catalan nation.

In the context of Catalonia, the notion of Castilian becoming an anonymous language was unsuccessful; its historical associations with the Franco regime meant that it would always be difficult to perceive it as a language 'from nowhere' (Woolard, 2016). Following the death of Franco, the objective of the Catalan government's linguistic immersion policies was to reinstate Catalan as the normal, natural public language. Nevertheless, its perception as an authentic language belonging to particular speakers hindered the attempts to standardise Catalan as I will demonstrate later in the thesis.

2.7 Gender and nation

Alongside education, the family setting is considered central to the development and preservation of language and the ideological reproduction of the nation through the mother tongue. Anderson contends that it is through language 'encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined and futures dreamed' (1983: 154). In this manner, the woman's role has been traditionally determined as reproducer of the nation in many national projects. In this section the focus is

therefore on gender and women's role both symbolically and biologically in the nation.[10]

The classical theorists of nationalism have almost entirely failed to address gender or the role of women in national projects. Smith includes a very brief section in his book *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998). This lack of attention to gender has been criticised by many feminist scholars (e.g. Ranchod-Nilsson & Tétreault, 2000; Walby, 2000; Yuval-Davis 1997; Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989). The feminist critique questions why women's participation in national projects is not considered relevant and why women are often positioned in subordinate roles. The public/private divide of western society relegates women to the private sphere and excludes them from the political arena of the public sphere, thus excluding them from political discourse as well (Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Thus, nationalism and national projects are often depicted as masculine phenomena. Both Anderson (1983: 38) and Smith (1991: 77) refer to the construction of a nation as a brotherhood or 'fraternity'. As discussed earlier, nationalism is about creating a unique, homogenous and united nation in the face of difference. Thus, in the pursuit of unity, differences of class, sexuality, ethnicity and gender are masked (Mayer, 2000). Mayer further argues that because men's identity is interrelated with the nation's identity, they try to control how it is represented, reproduced and who is included or excluded

[10] Of course, this is a normative understanding of gender and child-rearing that is now challenged by a diversification of the family structure.

(ibid.). McClintock (1996: 61) contends that 'all nationalisms are gendered' and goes on to stress the representations of difference:

> Despite nationalism's ideological investment in the idea of *unity*, nations have historically amounted to the sanctioned institutionalisation of gender *difference* (ibid., original emphasis).

These contrasting representations of masculinities and femininities often depict men as the life-takers, going to war to defend the nation. Women however are portrayed as the biological reproducers; the life-givers and nurturers of the nation (Coakley, 2012), and often depicted in passive and traditional roles (McClintock, 1996). In their seminal book *Woman, nation, state,* Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) consider how women have always been central to nationalism as reproducers of the nation. They identify five aspects of women's roles in a national project:

- as biological reproducers of ethnic groups;
- as reproducers of the boundaries of these ethnic or national communities;
- as the ideological reproducers of the nation and transmitters of culture;
- as signifiers of ethnic differences;
- as active participants in national, political, economic and military struggles.

In her later work, Yuval-Davis discusses how women have been used throughout history as symbols of the nation, as 'symbolic bearers of the collectivity's identity and honour' (1997: 45). As such, women represent the purity of the nation and are depicted as modest and dutiful; this is essential for the nation's survival. The feminisation of the nation can be seen in examples of national imagery such as 'Mother Russia', 'Mother Ireland', the female

symbol of ‘La Patrie’ of the French Revolution and the British ‘Britannia’ (Coakley, 2012). Therefore, even though women have a symbolic status in the construction of nationalism, they are essentially objectified and seen by men as the ‘other’ (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 47).

Symbolically, the nation has also been constructed as a family and therefore has acquired a patriarchal hierarchy which assigns gendered roles to its members (Mayer, 2000). The importance of the family strengthens women’s maternal role as biological reproducers of the nation. In the context of Spain under the Franco regime, the nationalisation of women in fact became the nationalisation of their bodies to serve the interests of the nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997). In order to repopulate the country following the civil war, motherhood was strongly encouraged and women were prevented from entering the workforce so they could remain at home and carry out their maternal and domestic duties (Morcillo, 2000).

Gender is also relevant to the previous discussion of ethnic versus civic nationalism. In particular, these two modes have been further dividing along gender lines (Cusack, 2000). In ethnic nationalism, women are defined by their role as mothers and homemakers whereas the man is the head of the home. In civic nationalism, men have historically dominated political activity whilst women have often been hidden from the public sphere or in subordinate positions in the political domain (Walby, 2006). Women thus are tasked with the role of ‘cultural carriers’ of the nation and transmitters of traditions, culture and values to the younger members of the group (Yuval-Davis & Anthias,

1989: 9). In the forthcoming chapters I will explore the relationship between gender, nation and identity in different spheres of everyday life, including the private and the public and also reveal contradictions to some of these gendered beliefs.

2.8 Contextualising Catalonia

In the second part of this chapter I will provide the historical and present-day context of Catalonia. To begin, a brief overview of stateless nations and the renewed interest in nationalism is necessary in order to understand Catalonia's position as a stateless nation.

2.8.1 Stateless nations

Many theories of nationalism contend that its main aim is the creation of a state and in fact Gellner (1983) argues that nationalism does not exist in stateless nations. However, Michael Keating stresses that it is important to distinguish between the theory of nationalism and the doctrine. Whilst the theory examines nationalist behaviour, nationalism as a doctrine is about self-determination. He argues that the conflation of theory and doctrine leads to nation building and that new forms of nation building emerge from minority nations without states, fundamentally from the principle of identity (Keating, 1996, 2001).

Nationalist movements and the increase in national consciousness in stateless nations are generally born from dissatisfaction with the nation-state (Keating,

2001). Keating contends that nation-states have lost their 'capacity for territorial and social integration' (ibid.: 44). The fluid or dynamic nature of nations means they are often transformed or created and this leads to stateless nations adopting strategies of cultural resistance and sometimes armed conflict to achieve political autonomy (Guibernau, 1996). Despite assertions that in the future nations and nationalism 'will be present in history, but in subordinate, and often minor roles' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 182), nationalism does not seem to be abating. In the post-Cold War period and into the 21st century there has been a resurgence of national projects and thus renewed interest in the concepts of nationalism and national identity (Smith, 2011).

2.8.2 The revival of nationalism

The positive, beneficial face of nationalism in the late 18th century, with its hopes and inspirations as a 'guarantee of liberty' (Renan, 1882, cited in Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 18) contrast with its sometimes controversial character. Nationalism has often been referred to as 'Janus faced' with one face looking back as a claim to its ethnic past, and the other looking forward to the future, emphasising its modern side (Nairn, 1997: 67). Sometimes called the 'dark' side of nationalism, in the early 20th century, nationalism in its most extreme form culminated in fascist movements and regimes in Italy, Germany, Spain and elsewhere (Harris, 2009: 12). This type of aggressive nationalism is associated with racist ideals of superiority and transforms nationalism into an exclusivist, xenophobic and oppressive movement (Guibernau, 1996). In spite of the ravages and horrors of the two world wars, nationalist movements continued into the second half of the 20th century in post-colonial African

states, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the formation of many new nations through both violent and peaceful secessions (Smith, 1998). However, in the 21st century, the process of globalisation is considered to marginalise differences and in this respect, nationalism can sometimes be considered as anachronistic (Gagnon et al., 2011). Nevertheless, nationalist inspiration has not diminished as exemplified with the continuing struggles of the Palestinians, Kurds and Tibetans, the rise of religious nationalisms and the resurgence of movements in stateless nations such as Quebec, Flanders, Scotland and Catalonia.

What are the causes of this re-emergence of nationalism? Guibernau (2004) suggests that, for nations without states, this renewed interest has been related to an increase in globalisation and 'the transformations currently affecting the nation-state' (ibid.: 10). By this she refers to social movements defending the people's right to 'decide on their own political destiny' (ibid.). As far as globalisation is concerned, people are fighting against the loss of control and fragmentation of their societies; this translates into increased feelings of national consciousness and the desire to defend a given culture and history (Castells, 2010a). On similar lines, Eriksen (2010: 130) claims that nationalism is a reaction to a social vacuum; it satisfies some of the 'needs that kinship was formally responsible for' and provides security and continuity.

As a contrast to many classical theories, contemporary nationalism is not only confined to the elites (although, it could be argued that many social movements tend to be led by intellectuals), but in fact social movements can

be seen as a reaction to the elites (Castells, 2010a). Castells goes on to contend that contemporary nationalism is more cultural than political because of its reactive, rather than proactive, nature. In other words, nationalist movements are defending an 'institutionalised culture' which may be being threatened rather than defending a state (ibid.: 33). Coakley (2012) suggests that nationalist revolutions are often not prompted by cultural renewal but instead are a reaction to a community enduring a more material, socioeconomic injustice. For example, the global financial crisis is also considered to have had an effect on the resurgence of nationalism and there are a number of recent studies examining this notion (see for example Angouri & Wodak, 2014; Wodak & Richardson, 2013) and is considered by some to be a contributing factor for Catalunya's current nationalist project (Crameri, 2014). As a way of defining regional nationalisms or sub-nationalisms, Guibernau (2013a: 371) proposes the concept of 'emancipatory nationalism' which describes a democratic nationalism emerging in nations within states who do not identity with them. The sub- or periphery nations do not consider themselves politically or culturally a part of the nation-state. She defines emancipatory nationalism as the transition from 'adolescence to adulthood[11] illustrated by the nation's willingness to act and be recognized as a *demos* able to decide upon its own political future' (ibid., original emphasis).

Following the brief exploration in part one of this chapter of the main theories in the field and their relation to the revival of national movements, I argue that

[11] This metaphor used by Guibernau (2013a) does however have the effect of naturalising the nation and positions it in a normative temporality and chronology.

it is essential to consider the importance of cultural identity and language. From the ethno-symbolist viewpoint, these elements are pivotal in relation to the formation of a national identity. They provide symbols, myths, history, memories and a distinct sense of belonging or attachment to a community and I view these as being discursively reproduced through social practices. From an instrumentalist approach, I have discussed how language and culture are used as powerful political tools by the elites to mobilise the masses and raise national consciousness; education is another important tool employed to increase national sentiment. The next section will examine how nationalism evolved in Catalonia and begin by sketching the historical and political context of the region. It will then look at possible explanations for its recent forceful resurgence and conclude with the present-day political situation and support for independence.

2.8.3 Nationalism in Catalonia

Nationalism in Catalonia developed in the region in the early 19th century (Dieckhoff, 2011). However, nationalist sentiments can be traced as far back as the early 18th century and many Catalans root their national struggles in the historical event of the Spanish War of Succession and the Siege of Barcelona when, on 11th September 1714, the city fell to the Bourbons (Carr, 1980; Crameri, 2012). This important date has become Catalonia's national day, *La Diada*, which symbolises the Catalan traits of strength and resilience and homage is paid to one of the heroes of the siege, Rafael Casanova (Conversi, 1997). Following the siege, there was a long period of prohibition of Catalan rights, customs, language and institutions which laid the foundations for a

history of repression. In spite of this apparent side-lining, the region enjoyed economic recovery and the early 1800s marked the beginning of early industrialisation and widened the economic gap between Catalonia and Madrid (ibid.). The period of the *Renaixença* (Renaissance) in the mid-19th century was primarily, although not exclusively, a bourgeois movement of cultural revival in Catalonia beginning with literature, especially poetry (Balcells, 1983). In order to re-establish the prestige of the Catalan language, cultural traditions were revived including the 14th century poetry competition, *Jocs Florals* (Floral Games) and the cultural revival spread to architecture, painting, theatre and philosophy (Conversi, 1997). As already seen, cultural identity is an important element in the creation of national identity. This strong cultural nationalism gave the basis for the development of political nationalism and helped establish the Catalan identity needed to form national consciousness. Economic success also played a part in increasing national identity, following early industrialisation in the region. Catalonia however at that time only demanded greater autonomy, not secession as the Catalan government wanted to maintain protection from the state in the face of foreign competition (Balfour & Quiroga, 2007).

The administrative government known as the *Mancomunitat* (1914-1923) gave Catalonia certain autonomy. This was suppressed following the *coup d'état* of Primo de Rivera in 1923, and a period of authoritarian regime followed. Primo de Rivera imposed a programme of 'nationalisation of the masses' and all other forms of national identity were repressed (ibid.: 34). These actions awakened new nationalist feelings in Catalonia. With the dawn of the Second

Republic in 1931, the Statute of Autonomy was granted and the Catalan autonomous government, the *Generalitat*, was formed (Guibernau, 2013a). The 1931 Constitution revoked the Catholic Church's political involvement and declared a secular state (Morcillo, 2000). Furthermore, the education system was reformed, again removing the control of the Church and the republicans sought to eradicate illiteracy for both sexes. Due to the lack of schools, this was unsuccessful but some education opportunities were opened up for women (ibid.). For women in Catalonia and all over Spain, the short-lived Second Republic (1931-1936) was a period of intense change; from being one of the most backward countries in Europe, Spain became one of the most progressive, although being predominently rural, the effect of these changes was felt in mainly urban areas (Carbayo-Abengózar, 2001). The Constitution granted women suffrage, legislation was passed protecting women workers and divorce was legalised in 1932 (Morcillo, 2000).

These advances came to an abrupt end with the start of the civil war in 1936 and when Franco came into power in 1939, Catalonia was once again subject to extreme repression by the Fascist regime. All Catalan institutions, Catalan language and symbols, such as the flag and the national anthem, were proscribed (May, 2012). As discussed earlier, nationalist movements in minority stateless nations stem from dissatisfaction with the nation-state and strategies of cultural resistance are developed. In Catalonia in the late forties, clandestine Catalan classes were held and a handful of books were printed in Catalan. In the late fifties, further cultural resistance movements began to emerge including public displays of the Catalan flag, *la senyera*, and the

formation of small intellectual institutions (Guibernau, 2004). One of these institutions, *Òmnium Cultural*, was founded in 1961 to promote all aspects of Catalan culture and is today one of the main civil pro-independence organisations (Crameri, 2014).

Throughout the 1960s, cultural movements continued, some semi-clandestine. For example, the *Nova Cançó* (New Song) movement played an important role in raising national consciousness (Conversi, 1997). Catalan singers such as Joan Manuel Serrat, Lluís Llach, Raimon, the Mallorcan María del Mar Bonet and the folk group *Els Setze Jutges* became increasingly popular and singing in Catalan in public was a manifestation of the defence of their culture (Aragüez Rubio, 2006). Barcelona Football Club also became a prominent symbol of Catalan identity. In the early 1960s the club's 'propaganda' was published in Catalan and they used Catalan in the loudspeaker system in the stadium which led to retaliation from the Spanish government (Santacana, 2015). Nevertheless, the strict repression during Francoism elicited the same reaction as during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship: an increase in and politicisation of Catalanism (Balfour & Quiroga, 2007). The strength of the Catalan culture had a unifying effect on all political opposition parties; the culture, and the Catalan language in particular, took on a political meaning because of its prohibition (Conversi, 1997).

Following the death of Franco in 1975, the period known as the *transición* (1975-1982), the transition to democracy, began. In 1978 the new Spanish Constitution was ratified and Catalonia, along with the Basque Country and

Galicia, had their full autonomy restored (Conversi, 1997). Guibernau (2004: 77) describes the preamble in the Catalan 1979 Statute of Autonomy. It stressed the defining criteria for identity: continuity and differentiation, and it highlights the Catalan people as a 'collective identity' which is created through the 'consciousness of forming a community with a shared culture [...]'.

Notwithstanding its history of repression, for a quarter of a century Catalonia remained, in the main, an autonomous region that sought reforms within the Spanish state rather than secession. In fact, the aim of CiU during Pujol's presidency was to gain more autonomy for Catalonia whilst maintaining good relations with the central Spanish government (Dowling, 2013). The approval of the new constitution in 1978 did however prompt the formation of a number of pro-independence organisations such as *Terra Lliure* (Free Land) and *Comitès de Solidaritat amb els Patriotes Catalans* (Solidarity Committees with Catalan Patriots) (Lluch, 2010). Before this time, there were a handful of small separatist groups: in 1940 the *Front Nacional de Catalunya* (National Front of Catalonia) was formed and in 1968 the *Partit Socialista d'Alliberament Nacional* (Socialist Party for Nationalist Liberation). However, the only organisation that had any political strength was the *Estat Català* (Catalan State), founded by Francesc Macià in 1922 which later merged in 1931 to become what is today ERC (Rubiralta i Casas, 2004).

Following the approval of the Catalan Statute for Autonomy in 1979, the first democratic elections for forty years took place at the regional level in 1980.

They were won by the right-wing party CiU[12] and CiU's leader Jordi Pujol became the president of the *Generalitat* for the next twenty-five years. Pujol began a conservative nation-building initiative with a strategy to modernise the Catalan economy and protect its culture but also to continue with the democratisation of Spain (Dowling, 2005). Thus, whilst the Catalan government sought recognition of Catalonia as a nation, there was always an emphasis on increased home rule rather than independence which mirrored Quebec and Scotland's situations at that time (Keating, 2001).

In Catalonia, language is an important component of Catalan identity for historical and political reasons (Castell, 2010). Forty years of linguistic repression during the Franco regime and mass internal immigration from southern Spain in the second half of the 20th century were potential threats to the survival of the language. Pujol promoted the Catalanisation of Catalonia through the Catalan language and linguistic normalisation policies were introduced in order to restore the status of the language and achieve integration of the non-Catalan speaking immigrants (May, 2012). In 1983, the *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* (Catalan Law of Linguistic Normalisation) was passed and Catalan became the language used in primary education, administration and the media. By 1993 it became the single medium of teaching in schools. In 1998, the *Llei política lingüística* (Linguistic Policy Act) was passed to further promote, among other things, an increase in the use of Catalan in higher education and between businesses (ibid.). Using

[12] *Convèrgencia i Unió* (Convergence and Union Coalition - CiU) was a coalition of two parties: Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (Democratic Convergence of Catalonia - CDC) and Unió Democràtica de Catalunya (Democratic Union of Catalonia - UDC).

language as a defining component of a nation can be considered a form of ethnic nationalism. However, Pujol's government was very careful to emphasise an inclusive Catalanism, with no 'ethnic, religious or racialized distinctions' (ibid.: 261). Since the first linguistic normalisation laws were introduced in the 1980s, there have been a number of campaigns aimed at linguistic immersion which is seen as the cornerstone of integration and social cohesion and a way of erasing the differences between the autochthonous Catalans and the migrants (Franco Guillén & Zapata Barrero, 2014). These initiatives will be examined in chapters four and five.

2.8.4 Gender and nation in Catalonia

As mentioned above, the role of women in Catalonia as nation-builders of the Spanish nation was emphasised during Franco's regime. At that time, and throughout Spain as a whole, symbolically, women and motherhood were used to represent the nation. Franco's National-Catholic ideology constructed women as symbols of the nation through a new image based on traditional religious values of purity, motherhood and domestication. Families were considered the pillar of society and women, as mothers, had a central role to reconstruct the country (Morcillo, 2000). Furthermore, as well as fulfilling the role of women as reproducers, they were also expected to carry out the task of women as educators (Bergès, 2012); one of the creeds of the *Sección Femenina*[13] was 'do not forget that your mission is to educate your children for the good of the nation' (Morcillo, 2000: 25). As in other totalitarian regimes,

[13] *Sección Femenina* (Women's section) of the *Falange*, Spain's fascist party, were responsible for the nationalisation of women.

policies to increase the birth rate were the basis for the nationalisation of women, thus their bodies became objects of oppression that belonged to the nation (Bergès, 2012). In Catalonia during this period, when all linguistic and cultural representations not pertaining to the ideology of the nation-state were repressed, it could be argued that women subverted this Spanish nationalist ideology by becoming the guardians and reproducers of the Catalan culture and language.

Historically however, patriarchal constructions of nationhood have not been restricted to the Spanish state; examples can also be found in Catalan culture, emerging in the 18th and 19th centuries. Palau (2010: 86) describes how the Catalan nation has been reproduced in Catalan literature as *'la mare Catalunya'* (Mother Catalonia) or *'la Ben Plantada'* (the perfect woman). This figure, known as Teresa, the angel of the home, symbolises the mother in the home, subordinate and passive, who becomes the 'ideal bourgeois woman' of the nation (ibid: 87). The discourse of contemporary Catalan nationalism in the 20th century continued to foreground women's reproductive value. In an article published in the Catalan feminist journal *Dones en Lluita* (Women's Struggle), its co-founder Mireia Bofill condemned the repeated nationalist declarations of Jordi Pujol urging Catalan families to have a minimum of three children to *'assegurar la supervivència de Catalunya com a nació'* (ensure the survival of the Catalan nation) (Bofill, 1982: 7). Bofill criticised the political interest in matters relating to human reproduction with women's bodies being indispensable to the process (ibid.).

With respect to women's resistance movements, there were some clandestine post-war movements, although as Nash (1991) notes, some of the earlier movements can be identified with anti-Franco activism rather than a feminist movement. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s the discrimination of women during Franco's regime propelled a political and feminist consciousness (Nash, 2013). Women became involved in activism in diverse areas such as the unions, university and working-class movements and often their political or feminist consciousness stemmed from their family situation (Nash, 2007). In the transition to democracy between 1975 and 1982, women's movements campaigned for new laws on divorce, abortion and birth control. As an example of the rise in feminist activism, at the time of Franco's death in 1975, a total of 79 women's and feminist organisations were actively involved in the liberation manifesto of the UN International Year of the Woman (Threlfall, 2005). The transition and post-transition periods also saw the emergence of a dynamic women's movement in Catalonia, and the construction of new female identities and roles beyond traditional nationalist definitions of women as mothers of the nation (Nash, 2007). In 1976, the first *Jornades Catalanes de la Dona* (Catalan Conference on Women) took place over four days in Barcelona. Although the organisers only expected some 500 women to attend, about 4000 women took part in the conference (Borderías, 2016). The level of Catalan-ness of the conference was criticised by some women who claimed that any national culture was created by men and had no place at the conference. The Catalan writer Montserrat Roig responded to this criticism by recalling that *'les dones catalanes són doblement explotades, com a dones i com a catalanes'* (Catalan women are doubly exploited, as women

and as Catalan women) (Francés Díez, 2010: 52). The conference was considered an important step for Catalan feminists and the beginnings of the feminist movement throughout Spain (ibid.). In Catalonia, many of the women's movements were grouped around the urban areas of Barcelona, in the shanty towns emerging from the huge influx of migrants. The *moviments veïnals* (neighbourhood movements) were central to the social movements of the 1970s (Huertas & Andreu, 1996) and women, many of them migrants, played a crucial role in these urban protests, fighting for better living conditions, local health clinics, improved transport and also in the demand for equal pay (Parramon, 2008).

2.8.5 Catalan nationalism in the 21st century

The current situation in Catalonia demonstrates the fluidity of nationalism and how it can be re-imagined or re-created. In the past, the region pushed for national recognition and greater devolution of power; today there is a strong, unexpected increase in secessionism (Crameri, 2014; Guibernau, 2014). The apparently banal Catalan nationalism (Crameri, 2000) evident in the late 1990s and early 2000s has evolved into a forceful, 'hot' nationalism (Billig, 1995: 44). This phenomenon has created renewed academic interest and many of the recent studies on Catalan nationalism come from the field of political science (Guibernau, 2004, 2013a, 2014; Serrano, 2013) and many centre on opinion polls measuring national identity and voting behaviour in recent elections and referendums (Martí, 2013; Muñoz & Guinjoan, 2013; Rico, 2012). Other studies have looked at the top-down approach of the nation building project. For example, García (2013) claims that the government have

used persuasion as a strategic communication tool. He argues that mass media campaigns through television and radio and the promotion of sport and culture have increased Catalan identity and sense of nationhood. Crameri (2014) also explores through cultural products how nationalist discourse interacts with contemporary politics and impacts political action.

There are a number of events that have led to the rise in secessionism in Catalonia. According to Guibernau (2013a), the current revival of nationalism and demands for Catalan secession can be explained by three factors: First is the lack of response of the Aznar government for Catalonia's demands for greater autonomy. The right wing *Partido Popular* (People's Party - PP) was in power from 1996-2004 and ignored Catalonia's insistence on greater powers of devolution. Guibernau contends this was 'at a time when secession was not even mentioned' (ibid.: 380). Secondly, there was contentious debate surrounding the suspension of part of the 2006 new Statute of Autonomy. The Statute, which demanded greater autonomy for Catalonia, was ratified by the Catalan parliament, modified by the Spanish government and sanctioned by a Catalan public referendum. Despite being approved, the Spanish Constitutional Court declared more than 50% of the Statute's text unconstitutional. This challenge took four years to be resolved and key parts of the text that would have given Catalonia greater devolution were removed (ibid.).

The final impetus for secessionist demands, according to Guibernau, arises from the Catalan fiscal deficit. The economic crisis and high levels of

unemployment in the region since 2008 have increased resentment against the Spanish government and its policies. Guibernau states that Catalonia has an accumulating annual deficit of 8% of the region's GDP as a result of the financial arrangements with the Spanish state (ibid.). As Serrano (2013) argues, the fiscal system has been one of the fundamental and contentious issues for reform since the transition to democracy, so this last factor as an explanation for the support for independence is nothing new. However, citing the economic crisis as a trigger factor leaves Catalonia open to the accusation that an important motivation for independence comes from Spain's short term economic situation making it a pragmatic move more than one based on the principle of national sovereignty (Crameri, 2014).

As previously mentioned, Guibernau considers Catalonia's nationalist project a form of 'emancipatory nationalism' (2013a: 371). She suggests that democracy has enabled the Catalan people to express themselves without fear, in contrast to the repression they experienced during the Franco regime. Further, Guibernau argues that the younger generations, who have only known a democratic state, consider it their legitimate right to decide on their own future (2013b). Nonetheless, there is a combination of many elements, both political and social, that need to be understood in this complex debate.

One of the factors that has had a strong mobilising effect has been the impact of the grass roots pro-independence movements that have motivated a huge increase in public support for secession (Serrano, 2013). Over the last decade, the nationalist movement in Catalonia has shifted from a political movement to a civil movement (Crameri, 2014). Lluch (2010: 341) distinguishes the two

movements as institutionalised nationalism led by formally constituted political parties and sociological nationalism, led by 'groups of nationalists that form associations, cultural groups, pressure groups, and consciousness-raising political action groups'. The principal organisers of the many demonstrations and campaigns have been *Assemblea Nacional de Catalunya* (National Catalan Assembly - ANC), founded in 2011 and *Òmnium Cultural*, founded in 1961 to preserve Catalan culture during the Francoist regime (Serrano, 2014).[14]

Guibernau (2013a) states that the origins of the current civil movement can be traced to the first unofficial referendums held in towns and villages throughout Catalonia between 2009 and 2011. Muñoz and Guinjoan (2013) have investigated the internal variation in the nationalist mobilisation and found that higher intensity of campaigning and activism led to higher participation in the referendums. The civil association *Òmnium Cultural* were behind the referendum organisation which led to a massive demonstration in 2010 about the Catalan people's *'dret a decidir'* (right to decide) in support for the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (Crameri, 2014). This contrasts with the poor turnout at the 2006 referendum to approve the new Statute when less than 50% of the population voted. It has been argued that the top-down led project of nation-building during the Statute campaign may have alienated some of the population (García, 2013). Other studies have highlighted how the grassroots

[14] *Asociació de municipis per la indepèndencia* (Association of Municipalities for Independence) founded in 2011, is another organisation that also plays an important role at a local level (Serrano, 2014). Latest statistics show that 787 municipals out of a total of 948 in Catalonia are members of the association (Asociació de municipis per la Indepèndencia, 2017).

movements have had a stronger influence than the political parties in mobilising civil society during the latest campaigns (Ordeix & Ginesta, 2013). However, as noted by Crameri (2015), when evaluating the success of the grassroots movements, the role of Catalan cultural elites cannot be ignored; their leaders come from educated middle-class backgrounds and many are media professionals who understand the power and reach of new media (Castells, 2012).

In 2012, on Catalonia's national day in September, the largest demonstration at the time in Catalonia's history was held. According to local figures, 1.5 million people took to the streets under the slogan *'Catalunya nou estat d'Europa'* (Catalonia, new state of Europe) (Guinjoan & Rodon, 2016). This demonstration had a pivotal effect on the region and an early election was called and party manifestos revolved around the promise of a referendum on independence (ibid.). CiU won this election again but lost seats to ERC. The two parties drafted a *Declaració de sobirania i el dret a decidir* (Declaration of Sovereignty and the Right to Decide) which was ratified by the Catalan parliament (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013), arguing that the Catalan government had the mandate of the people following the many mass public demonstrations. The Spanish Constitutional Court held that the declaration of sovereignty was unconstitutional (Moodrick-Evan Khen, 2016). Nevertheless, following a number of resolutions being passed through Catalan parliament, a date was set for a referendum to be held in November 2014. Once again, the Spanish Constitutional Court held that a referendum was unconstitutional. In September of 2014, another mass demonstration was held in support of

independence, with the focus on the forthcoming referendum. The date that year was significant as it was the 300th anniversary of the Siege of Barcelona, and the pro-sovereignty movements used this historic event to mobilise the people (Crameri, 2014). In the end a total of 2,305,290 people voted in the consultation (37% turnout); 1,861,753 (80.76%) of these voting for an independent Catalonia (Pérez & Ríos, 2014).

2.8.6 Catalonia today – the road to independence?

Following the unofficial referendum on independence, elections were again called by the then president of the *Generalitat*, Artur Mas, and the third regional election in the last five years was held in September 2015 (Orriols & Rodon, 2016). Mas' own party, CiU, had dissolved earlier in the year following disputes over the pro-sovereign turn taken by some members. Standing for election was the coalition party *Junts pel Sí* (Together for Yes - JxSí) which was comprised of a number of political parties from the left, centre and centre-right, including ERC and CDC and representatives from the two main pro-independence civic groups ANC and Òmnium (Guibernau, 2015). The election was presented to the Catalan people by JxSí as a plebiscite for independence, using the slogan *'el vot de la teva vida'* (the vote of your life) to emphasise the importance of the election and maximise participation (Martí & Cetrà, 2016). The turnout was the highest ever in a regional election with nearly 75% of the electorate casting their vote (Orriols & Rodon, 2016). JxSí won the election in terms of seats (62 seats), although not in terms of number of votes (48%). They were also six seats short of a majority and needed support from the anti-capitalist party *Candidatures d'Unitat Popular* (Popular Unity Candidacy -

CUP) who had gained 10 seats (Martí & Cetrà, 2016). Thus, as Soler Carbonell et al. (2016) point out, the new Catalan government is made up of a number of, often diverging, ideological strands. CUP was strongly against the president Artur Mas and refused to vote for his reappointment. Consequently, after two months of deadlock, Mas stood down and chose his successor, Carles Puigdemont, Mayor of Girona and a member of CDC (ibid.). In November 2015, the Catalan government proceeded with a declaration of the 'process of disconnection' from Spain, which was suspended by the Spanish Constitutional Court (ibid.).

At that time, the organisation Grup Koiné, a group made up of approximately 250 academics, linguists, writers, philologists and other professionals issued a manifesto titled *'Per un veritable procés de normalització lingúística a la Catalunya independent'* (For a real process of linguistic normalisation in an independent Catalonia). In the document, the group renounces bilingualism and proposes that Catalan becomes the sole official language. The main political parties were quick to condemn the move which came at a time when they were eager to promote a bilingual society in order to secure votes from a large number of the Castilian-speaking and migrant populations (Julve, 2016). In their quest for support for the independence movement, the Catalan government have recognised the importance of international migrant communities that have obtained Spanish nationality, such as the Moroccan community. In an attempt to capture their vote they have put forward Muslims

on the electoral lists in various parts of Catalonia (Guia, 2016).[15] Laila, one of the Muslim women I interviewed, viewed this strategy as a manipulation of these communities that along with their Spanish nationality have become attractive and have a 'social value'. She considered their inclusion in the electoral lists as purely symbolic:

> *no deixen de ser com a subjecta no d'una manipulació constant i crec per la part mes mes er sentiment independentista er en aquest moment aquest collectiu es atractiu [...] ara molts voten i llavors jo crec que ara aquest collectiu ja te un valor social [...] [...] en les eleccions municipals, no, todo el mundo tenia, ay nosaltres a Alella tenim un a la llista, eh, tenim una noia marroquí, ah si, que numero? La 26, pero tu saps que no treures 26.*
>
> They are the subject of constant manipulation and I think for the more independent minded parties this collective is now attractive and has a social value [...] in this last electoral process they have had an important role and not all of them voted [...] in these latest municipal elections, everyone had one, ay, in Alella [village next to Masnou] we have one on the list, we have a Moroccan girl, oh yes? And what number is she? Number 26, but you know you'll never get 26 candidates elected (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

Over the last two years, the Catalan government has forged ahead with its 18 month 'roadmap' to independence (Orriols & Rodon, 2016), with plans to create state structures such as social security, a tax system and a public bank (ibid.). At the time of writing, plans are being made to hold a public referendum in October 2017. However, there are signs that the public are beginning to tire of the independence process. The yearly mass demonstration on Catalonia's national day in 2016 was not as well attended as previous years (attendance numbers for 2016 vary between 370,000 and 875,000) (Martos, 2016; Verdú, 2016). Further, the Catalan people's trust has been undermined by a series of corruption scandals. The 'father' of Catalonia, Jordi Pujol, has been

[15] The Catalan (and Spanish) electoral system is based on a proportional representation system but with a closed list. The list and order of candidates put forward by a party is decided by the party leader (Hopkin, 2005).

investigated for allegations of money laundering and bribery (Orriols & Rodon, 2016). CDC has been implicated in a similar corruption scandal involving the *Palau de la Música*, the Catalan Music Palace, one of the cultural institutions that symbolises Catalan identity and resistance against the Franco regime. Artur Mas has not personally been implicated although he was president of the party and the *Generalitat* during the period of alleged corruption and these events have seriously damaged his reputation (García, 2017). He was also taken to court over his involvement in the unofficial referendum in 2014 and, as a consequence, in March 2017 he was barred from holding public office for two years (ibid.).

2.8.7 Current migration and integration policies

Given its national and international experiences of immigration, as already discussed, Catalonia has mainly been portrayed as practising civic nationalism (Woolard, 1989) and linguistic immersion policies were introduced to promote integration and were the foundation for a non-ascriptive or non-hereditary Catalan identity (Conversi, 1997). Recent ethnographic research would suggest that these policies have been successful. Kathryn Woolard returned to a Barcelona school that had been the site of an earlier study in the 1980s and found a shift in linguistic views and practices from ethnolinguistic to a post-national 'rooted cosmopolitanism' that rejects primordial conceptualisations of Catalan (2016: 300). However, some scholars would argue that Catalan national identity continues to be based on ethnicity (García, 2010; Miley, 2007, 2013). Miley contends that there are hidden ethno-linguistic divisions in the population and that the nationalist project is 'overwhelmingly "ethnic,"' and 'an

elite-led, “top-down” project’ (2007: 31). A disproportionate increase in international migration during the first decade of the 21st century has necessitated a remodelling of some of the Catalan government’s integration policies. Current integration policies focus on pluralism and interculturalism and are underpinned by Catalonia’s linguistic policies (Zapata Barrero, 2012a). These polices and the migrant situation will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapters.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out the theoretical concepts that inform this study. I have contrasted the principle theorists of nationalism and, following Anderson (1983), defined the nation as an imagined, discursive construct. I have also argued that both ethnic and civic nationalism play a part in nation building projects. The importance of language in the discursive construction of a national identity has been explored together with the linguistic ideologies that surface when language is considered in terms of nationhood. The historical relationship between gender and nation has been examined and the position and role of women in the contemporary nation demonstrates that this relationship still needs to be debated, as I will show in forthcoming analysis chapters. The chapter has also situated the study in the context of Catalonia, outlining its nationalist roots and the emergence of a nationalist project that has become a struggle for independence. Transnationalism and migration have been briefly introduced and the relevance of these issues in present-day Catalonia will be discussed throughout the thesis.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The methodology and methods used in this research are discussed in this chapter. The overarching approach that informs my research is social constructionism. This approach provides the perspective to explore nation and identity as constructs as opposed to natural or essential phenomena. This study is also informed by sociocultural linguistics, 'the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture and society' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 586). This approach enables me to explore how the broader social, cultural and ideological discourses are reflected in women's everyday discourse.

The first part of the chapter will explain and critique oral history as a methodology and also its application in this study. I then describe the concept of intersectionality, a central interpretative tool in this study. I introduce the sociocultural linguistic approach and go on to discuss the analytical tools of stancetaking and indexicality. The second part of the chapter describes the research methods I have adopted and rationale for their use. In this section I also discuss discourse analysis and introduce the small story framework applied to the social media data. The chapter concludes with an exploration of ethical issues and reflexive practice.

3.1 Why El Masnou? Why women?

I chose to locate my study in El Masnou for two reasons. Firstly, El Masnou is a typical example of a Catalan coastal village close to Barcelona that experienced national migration during the transition to democracy and now has a certain level of international migration (8.15%). Despite its proximity to the city – approximately 15 kms – life in El Masnou is quite different from urban Barcelona. By choosing El Masnou as a case study, I aim to uncover these differences in the women's perspectives in the forthcoming chapters. As I discussed in chapter one, a focus on the local enables us to 'bridge historical, political and social perspectives to show how (national) identities are produced and reproduced through everyday experiences' (Quiroga, 2014: 687) and reveal different perspectives from those which may be identified at a regional (or national) level. Secondly, there are very few oral history studies that have focused on one town or village (Robertson, 2012; Domènech Sampere, 2002) and linguistic-based studies have principally centred on the metropolitan area of Barcelona (e.g. Frekko, 2009; Pujolar & González, 2013; Woolard; 1989, 2016). Finally, having lived in El Masnou for many years, my personal knowledge of the village and its people made it a natural choice for my field work.

My decision to focus solely on women addresses the epistemology and the female-centred practice that drives this study. As I discuss below, the main tenet of oral history has been to challenge dominant discourses and the influence of feminist thought has continued to encourage studies to uncover women's experiences which may have been hidden or silenced (Bornat &

Diamond, 2007). Moreover, feminist debates of oral history have highlighted the importance of exploring gender as a category of analysis which, together with other categories such as class and ethnicity, have 'shaped the construction of historical memory' (Sangster,1994: 7). Furthermore, as already noted in the introduction, to my knowledge, there are no oral history studies carried out in Spain that have looked at different generations of women or through an intersectional lens.

3.2 The Oral History approach

In his seminal book *The Voice of the Past*, Paul Thompson contends that oral history can 'give back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place' (Thompson, 2000: 13). As such, it is the 'history from below', that has been a central aim in oral history to democratise the production of histories (Thomson, 2007). That is, to enable ordinary people to offer their own interpretations of historical events and bring a new perspective to the histories written from elite viewpoints, an approach taken in this study. Thus, oral history aims to uncover hidden, untold stories, particularly from repressed or under-represented groups (Armitage & Gluck, 1998). Hence, uncovering women's life experiences aligns the epistemology of both oral history and feminist research that is central to the approach of this study. As Sangster (1994: 6) argues, feminist oral historians have played an important role in 'integrating women into historical scholarship'. She stresses the importance of 'highlighting gender as a category of analysis'. The feminist practice of oral history can be used to show how women's interpretations of events may differ from men's or may challenge dominant public narratives

(Leavy, 2007). In this way, Anderson and Jack (1991) argue for an emphasis on listening to the narratives and being receptive to learning rather than trying to prove preconceived ideas. In other words 'we need to attend more to the narrator than our own agendas' (ibid.: 12). During my interviews, some of the women's individual narratives contradicted theoretical critiques and mainstream discourses and caused me to realign any assumptions that I had brought with me to the study. For example, women's role has traditionally been seen as preserving and transmitting the nation's language and culture (Yuval-Davis, 1997). My findings in chapter four show that this was not always the case; men also contributed to maintaining the Catalan language and culture.

Oral history draws on personal accounts of past experience and these can be used as sources to understand changes and also continuities in society across time and within generations (Thompson, 2000). The following extract exemplifies this and shows how the richness of a personal narrative goes beyond simply recording individual stories:

> *vam estar en una situació de (.) pobresa pobresa no pero de lluita diaria per a ma mare poder pujar els 4 fills i llavors ma mare es quan va decidir marxar a Bracelona a buscar feina. Clar, ara er parlat aixi dius pues lo normal pero en els anys 65 er no era normal pero no era tant normal, vull dir, la dona es considerava que tenia que estar a casa amb els fills i cuidar-los. Clar, ma mare per poder treure endavant els fills es va anar a buscar feina i el meu pare es va quedar a casa a la botiga pero que era una situació una mica rara perque el meu pare com si hi anes enfonsat a la botiga perque la botiga no tirava i ma mare era la que portava el carrec de marxar a les 6 del matí de casa i tornar a les 10 de la nit perque treballava a una botiga a Barcelona i era com si bueno jo m'en recordo que com si la trobes a faltar perque sempre estava sola amb el meu pare i era la relació amb el meu pare i les meves germanes, no (.) er era com la necesitat de tenir la teva mare a casa.*
>
> we were in a situation of (.) poverty, well poverty, no, but it was a daily struggle for my mother to raise 4 children and so that's when my mother decided to go to Barcelona to look for work. Of course, to talk like that now well you say, that's normal, but in 1965 it wasn't normal,

> it wasn't so normal, I mean, the women were supposed to be at home looking after the children. But so that my mother could provide for her children she went to look for work and my father stayed at home, in the shop, but it was as though my father became depressed in the shop because it wasn't doing well and my mother was the one who carried the burden of leaving home at 6 in the morning and returning at 10 at night because she worked in a shop in Barcelona and it was as if well I remember that it was as if I missed her because I was always alone with my father and it was the relationship with my father and with my siblings, no? (.) Er, it was like a need to have my mother at home (Marta, 51, 10/5/15).

Marta's father used to have a business selling coal and ice for cooking and refrigeration, which began to decline once gas cookers and fridges arrived to Spain in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Marta recalls her personal longing for her mother who was forced to find work outside the home due to her family's changed circumstances and her narrative reflects the impact of social change during that time in Catalonia on her family and her personal biography. The telling of a story itself can be empowering (Gluck & Patai, 1991) and many of the women remarked at the end of the interview or in a subsequent communication that they found the experience very positive. The women made comments such as 'I've never talked so much before' or 'thank you for listening to my stories' and seemed surprised that someone else could find their lives interesting.

I use the interviews as the principal source of data, using written sources for background, context and verification of factual information. At times the oral sources diverged from or contradicted the written material; indeed as Lawler (2002) argues, narratives do not necessarily produce facts. The social world is 'storied' and individuals are situated within distinct, often competing, stories. Thus, in this study, I do not endeavour to present the women's stories as 'truth'.

Their narratives are highly personalised accounts of their experiences but they are unavoidably mediated by other discourses and memories that influence and them.

Oral history has been critiqued, particularly in relation to objectivity and the reliability of memory and its use as an historical source. Historians argue that selective memory was leading ‘not into history but into myth’ (O’Farrell, 1982 cited in Thomson, 2011: 79). These concerns have been turned into positives by a number of oral historians. In his seminal study on the death of a worker in an Italian steel factory, Alessandro Portelli (1991) contends that a speaker’s subjectivity creates the uniqueness of an oral source. He notes ‘memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active creation of meanings’ (1991: 52). Similarly, Thompson argues that

> The nature of memory brings many traps for the unwary, which often explains the cynicism of those less well informed about oral sources. Yet they also bring unexpected rewards to a historian who is prepared to appreciate the complexity with which reality and myth, 'objective' and 'subjective,' are inextricably mixed in all human perception of the world, both individual and collective (2000: 156-157).

Stories are told based on memory, which is itself the product of retelling, interpretation and reinterpretation (Walker, 2006). As already noted, an oral history account cannot be treated as unmediated. Blee (2016: 426) notes that ‘meanings are created in social and political contexts; memory is not a solitary act’. Thus, memory is affected by experiences, and ideological and cultural representations of the past and the present influence the way we remember the past (Summerfield, 1998). Oral historian Luisa Passerini reminds us that the ‘raw material’ of oral sources, that do not just contain factual information, should not be ignored (1979: 84). She argues that the representation of culture

is central in recollecting the past therefore our memories not only include the actual happening but also our 'ideology and sub-conscious desires' (ibid.). Indeed, as Sangster (1994) notes, cultural values can influence how we order and prioritise events and our conception of myth or fact. Nostalgia also plays a part in shaping memories. Although it can lead to romanticising the past, nostalgia can also be seen as a way of maintaining a 'thread of continuity in the face of present-day change and upheaval' (Anderson, 2005: 108). To give an example from my data, one of the older women I interviewed spoke about the transition to democracy. She spoke with feeling and enthusiasm and transmitted the hopes of the people emerging after 40 years of dictatorship:

> *Fue muy interesante, fue una época que la recuerdo con er pues muy bonito que el pueblo, la gente estaba muy unida y todos querían lo mismo. Después se ha ido mareando, pero en principio, aquella ilusión que se vivía y eso mismo, la constitución y al- y er después el estatuto, y todo todo esto, iniciabas una nueva vida, política claro. Y también casi personal, también daba un cambio a todo el mundo.*
>
> It was very interesting, it was a time that I remember with er well really lovely that the village or the people were very united and they all wanted the same thing. Later it's all gone wrong but to begin with, we all lived the hope, the anticipation and also the Constitution and later the Statute, and all all this, you were starting a new life, politically of course but also nearly personally, it changed everyone (Clara, 74, 28/4/15).

Clara's account reveals a sense of nostalgia for the past reflected in the way she explained how everyone was pulling together to make democracy work. She contrasted past times of unity with the present tensions between Catalonia and the Spanish government and the discourse of division within Catalan society today. This short extract does not adequately reflect the feeling with which Clara retold her story. However, the types of stories and anecdotes that the women recounted would not necessarily have surfaced in

a semi-structured interview. A life history approach enabled the women more freedom to retell their experiences with rich detail and nuance that a directed interview following set questions may not have produced.

3.3 Intersectionality

Sangster (1994) argues that variables such as class and ethnicity may significantly influence how different people remember and retell their life stories. She contends that these influences may sometimes outweigh gender in the construction of memory. Hence, a central theoretical and interpretative tool in this study is the concept of intersectionality, emphasising gender's inter-connectedness with categories of class and ethnicity in particular (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Intersectionality as a term was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) when exploring issues of exploitation and exclusion of black women in employment in the United States. The concept is founded on the 'diversity approach' in feminist theory and the premise that there is no homogenous group of women; it posits that multiple markers of identity, such as class, age, sexuality and ethnicity, intersect to form a variety of different subject positions (Ludvig, 2006). By adopting the diversity approach, Davis argues that

> intersectionality addresses the most central, theoretical and normative concern within feminist scholarship: namely the acknowledgement of differences among women (2008: 70).

As noted above, although originally principally applied to the intersection of gender, race[16] and class, intersectionality has a much broader application and

[16] Lutz et al. (2011) discuss the issues of using the term 'race' and its negative connotations in Europe, particularly in German-speaking countries. Race is substituted by 'ethnicity' as an

is used as an approach to analyse the intersection of multiple social categories such as age (Bradley, 2016); sexuality (Taylor et al., 2010) and disability (Moodley & Graham, 2015). Scholars have advocated an intersectional approach in studies on nationalism (Phoenix et al.,1995; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989) and transnationalism (Anthias, 2013; Bose, 2012; Mirza, 2013) arguing that in addition to looking at differences among women within one country, this needs to be taken further to include diversity across countries and in transnational locations. In the field of sociolinguistics, many scholars can be understood as taking an intersectional approach in that they consider the interaction of variables like gender, class, ethnicity and sexuality (e.g. Bucholtz, 2011; Eckert, 1989; Hall, 2009; Levon, 2012; Moore, 2010; Pichler, 2008, 2009). In language and identity research, the intersection of ethnicity, class and ethnolinguistic identity are addressed by Fought (2006) and Block and Corona (2014, 2016). Both Block and Corona (2016) and Levon (2015) call for a more explicit integration of intersectional theory in language studies that centres analysis on the 'social, historical, ideological and linguistic *relationships* between these catagories' (ibid.: 303, original emphasis) and the lived experiences of individuals and groups.

Intersectionality can be used as a tool to help understand individual and group identity (Thornton Dill et al., 2007). Thus, rather than focusing on a single identity category, taking an intersectional perspective can help us understand the way multiple identities intersect and shape experiences and these

academically neutral term but Lutz et al. accept this is also problematic and can be considered a provocation, for example, in newly established Eastern European countries.

experiences are unique to each individual (Shields, 2008). It therefore emphasises that different social categories cannot be analysed as 'discrete and pure strands' (Brah & Phoenix, 2004: 76); an intersectional approach takes into account the convergence of these different dimensions. Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis (2002) state that an individual's situated gaze, situated knowledge and situated imagination influence the different ways we look at the world. Intersectionality takes this further, as it considers how the intersection of a person's different 'situatedness' is affected by and affects different social, economic and political projects (Yuval-Davis, 2010: 4). A temporal dimension should also be considered and the intersection of social categories should be analysed in historically specific contexts (Brah & Phoenix, 2004).

Some of the critical debates in intersectionality point to one of the weaknesses of an intersectional approach being the addition of categories beyond the triad of gender-race-class, with accusations of arbitrariness[17] and debates about which categories are the most salient (Lutz, 2014). A minimum of gender-race-class has been proposed with the addition of categories depending on the research context (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2005). Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983: 65) contend that all three of these categories 'are affected by and affect each other and the economic, political and ideological relations in which they are inserted' and each will have a different impact depending on the context. One approach proposed by McCall (2005) is an anti-categorical approach that emphasises

[17] Many scholars refer to Judith Butler's critique of the infinite list of categories: 'Theories of feminist identity that elaborate predicates of colour, sexuality, ethnicity, class and able-bodiedness invariably close with an embarrassed 'etc.' at the end of the list. Through this horizontal trajectory of adjectives, these positions strive to encompass a situated subject, but invariably fail to be complete' (Butler, 1990: 143).

the social construction of categories arguing that social life is too complex to be reduced to categories. However, Crenshaw (1991) argues that the social and material consequences of categories need to be addressed and challenged rather than their categorisation. Ludvig (2006) advocates a similar approach in her analysis of a single narrative life-interview of a migrant woman in Austria. Her study looked at presentation of self through language and she argues that the specificity of time and place needs to be taken into account when exploring differences among women. I take a similar approach in this study.

Hill-Collins (1990) suggests that an intersectional approach shifts the focus of analysis from describing similarities and differences to consideration of the ways in which they interact with each other. Hence, the selection of the women in my study has taken into consideration the interaction of gender with other social categories such as age, ethnicity, class and religion. My research objectives, such as examining differences or similarities between native Catalan women and migrants on their use of Catalan and understanding the way age and generation may shape national identity are addressed by taking an intersectional perspective. That is, although the women in my study may share a number of these social categories at different times and in different contexts, their backgrounds and individual experiences are very different. Each perspective is unique and adds a distinct nuance to our understandings of events and periods of history.

3.4 Sociocultural linguistics approach

As already noted above, sociocultural linguistics is an interdisciplinary approach that brings together research disciplines such as linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. The framework for identity analysis developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004, 2005) draws on a broad range of research from different fields including language ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 2000), indexicality (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 2003) and performativity (Butler, 1990) to explore how language use is shaped by linguistic and cultural ideologies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Whilst their approach focuses on interactional encounters, the principles of their framework can be applied to other areas of sociocultural linguistic research. As I will show in the forthcoming chapters, a strong thread running through my data is the notion of sameness and difference. This is manifested in discourses relating to various dimensions of identity including language, gender, nation and ethnicity and can be analysed through an understanding of the social power relations of these and other dimensions. I lay out the five principles proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004, 2005) below and show how a sociocultural linguistic framework can be applied to this study.

3.4.1 Sociocultural linguistic principles

The e*mergence* principle states that identity is emergent through discourse and 'fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 588). Bucholtz and Hall note that this can be seen where an individual's language does not conform to their 'expected' social category and they use

ethnic, racial, and national boundary crossing as examples. They argue that the emergent nature of identity subverts, among other things, the 'ideologically expected mapping between language and […] culture', in other words, it subverts 'essentialist preconceptions of linguistic ownership'. An example of this in my data relates to Laila, a Moroccan women who is fluent in Catalan and thus subverts the dominant 'expected' image of the authentic Catalan speaker.

The *partialness* principle relates to the notion that because identity is inherently relational its construction can only be partial; 'produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 605). In other words, no identity can be constructed independent from wider ideological processes, even if it is constructed unconsciously. For example, when the native Catalan women apply the category of 'immigrant' to second generation Spanish migrants, this expression is so commonly used that it (unconsciously) creates a *naturalised* othering that is informed by the wider ideology of who can claim a Catalan identity.

The *relationality* principle is based on the idea that all identities are constructed in relation to another. Rather than just focusing on the relation between sameness and difference, Bucholtz & Hall (2005: 600) expand the relational aspect of identity construction into a framework of three pairs of *tactics of intersubjectivity*, these are:

Adequation and *distinction*. A group will downplay differences and foreground similarities in order to appear a homogenous unit, and supress similarities with another group in order not to undermine their construction of difference. As I will show in chapter seven, in the social media data, individuals use hashtags to manifest group solidarity and common goals (#wewillfilltheballotboxes) whilst at the same time they distance themselves from the rest of Spain by posting in English (#cataloniaisnotspain).

Authentication and *denaturalisation*. Identities can be reified, drawing on resources to authenticate them. Conversely, denaturalisation subverts any inherent right to an identity. An example of this tactic can be seen in my data when Mercè, a native Catalan women, differentiates between those who are 'not very Catalan' (i.e. non-native) and real, authentic Catalans and insists the 'others' cannot have the same love of the language as they do.

Authorisation and *illegitimation*. A speaker may align themselves with an institutional or hegemonic ideology to legitimise their own identity or alternatively, dismiss someone else's as illegitimate. In my data, one of the Catalan women, Laia, aligns herself with the dominant political discourse when she says 'Catalonia is a nation and has an identity, a history, a culture and its own language'. In contrast, the tactic of illegitimation could be employed to dismiss a second generation Moroccan woman's Catalan identity as her ethnicity and dress may be viewed as inappropriate for taking on this identity.

The final two principles, *positionality* and *indexicality* will be expanded below in the section on stance and indexicality. This is because I view Bucholtz and Hall's positionality principle as relating to stancetaking, whereby an individual

positions themselves, or takes a stance, towards or against a particular group or ideology. The indexicality principle concerns the semiotic process of one entity pointing to another and creates a link between a particular linguistic form and meaning.

3.5 Stance and Indexicality

Following Du Bois (2007) and, as already noted above, Bucholtz and Hall (2004; 2005), in my analysis I also draw on stance and indexicality to explore the construction of identities in the interview and social media data. These are discussed in turn below.

3.5.1 Stance

Stancetaking - how an individual positions themselves in an interaction or how they may align themselves towards (or against) a particular ideology – has been theorised by sociolinguists for decades although there is not one consistent definition of the concept (Englebretson, 2007). However, the overarching understanding of stance is that it is socially situated in discourse (ibid.) and that it is dialogic; stances are taken in alignment with or against other stances (Coupland and Coupland, 2009). For this study, I draw on contemporary theories of stance and follow Du Bois' (2007) definition:

> Stance can be approached as a linguistically articulated form of social action whose meaning is to be construed within the broader scope of language, interaction, and sociocultural value (2007: 139).

In order words, stance is connected to wider social discourses and ideologies. Du Bois (2007: 143-144) proposes that stance can function as evaluation, positioning and alignment, which he defines as follows:

> *evaluation* – the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterises it as having some specific quality or value;
> *positioning* – the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value;
> *alignment* – the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers.

Du Bois (2007) does not consider these three actions as discrete, but rather as different facets of stance that co-occur in an act of stancetaking. Thus a particular stance may be taken when a social actor may simultaneously evaluate an object, position a subject (usually the self) and align themselves with (or against) another subject. Du Bois' stance triangle demonstrates this three part stance act:

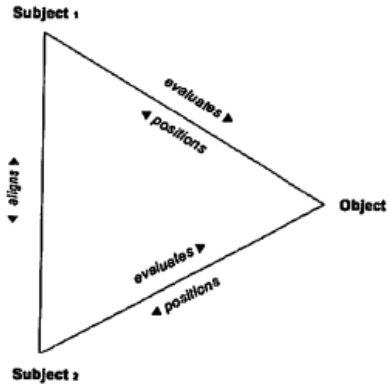

Figure 3. Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007: 163)

Nevertheless, as Coupland and Coupland (2009) argue, there is a difference between projecting your own individual orientation or alignment towards another's particular stance and projecting onto the other what their stance is or should be. The latter is termed as 'other stance attribution' and this type of stancetaking is generally avoided in social situations as it can be conflictive

(ibid: 229). There is evidence of ‘other stance attribution’ in my data. For example, the perceived antagonistic stance of the central Spanish government towards Catalonia is projected onto the rest of the Spanish population who are attributed with an anti-Catalan stance.

Ochs (1992) identifies two types of stance: epistemic and affective. Epistemic stance relates to knowledge and beliefs and affective stance relates to emotional states of mood, attitude or feeling. As noted by Jaffe (2009), both types of stance are socially and culturally grounded. Affective stance can index ‘shared and culturally specific structures of feeling’ (ibid: 7). Likewise, epistemic stance is grounded in cultural knowledge and authority (ibid.). Although Ochs (1992) treats these two types of stance separately, they can occur simultaneously in an act of stancetaking.

By aligning with a particular ideological stance, an individual may perform a certain persona in a given context that is meaningful to a shared identity. In her study of a lesbian community of practice, Jones (2012) demonstrates how one member takes on a ‘butch’ persona which aligns with the group’s overall identity. Stances can also be taken against an ideological group. For example, Pichler (2009: 32-34) shows how upper-class private schoolgirls position themselves in opposition to their stereotypical identity and, in order to avoid a ‘posh’ identity, take on a ‘cool’ identity. As previously noted, stance is an act of self-presentation and also social judgement and thus a stance can also be attributed to others which reveals the speakers evaluation and positioning of another. In my data, when discussing a migrant’s ability to speak Catalan, a

woman's comment *'yes but they are still from their country'* indexes the stance she takes on who can and cannot claim to be an authentic Catalan speaker, positioning the migrant as non-authentic. As noted by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 595), this example shows how even in a brief interaction, a speaker may position 'themselves and others as particular kinds of people'.

3.5.2 Indexicality

Through talk an individual may take a stance, or position themselves and align with a broader ideological identity, through indexicalisation. Thus, indexicality refers to a semiotic process of one entity pointing to another and is central to identity construction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). This process creates a link between a particular linguistic form and meaning, it tells us something about the speaker even before we pay attention to what they are saying (Ochs, 1992). Ochs (1992) argues that sociocultural meanings may become directly or indirectly associated with a particular linguistic form. She gives the example of certain gendered Japanese sentence-final particles that are also used to reduce the force of an utterance thus directly indexing a deferential stance. However, because this deferential stance is usually taken up by women, it has become indirectly associated with indexing gender and, over time, this indirect association becomes ideologically associated with women (Bucholtz, 2009). Inequalities between groups can be established through indirect indexicality (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). For example, on a local level among the residents of El Masnou, the use of the term *'els blocs'* (the blocks) to reference the new flats built outside the historic part of the village has, over time, become

associated with Castilian speakers and other migrants and thus indirectly indexes a particular category of person with a lower socioeconomic status.

As already noted, a particular language use or cultural behaviour can point to, or index, a social identity. In other words, a linguistic form can reflect a broader cultural image of a social group (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Furthermore, in ideological terms, some indexical processes could be described as iconisation whereby linguistic forms become 'iconic representations' of a group in a way that they appear to be embedded in the group's essence, becoming stereotypical representations (ibid.: 37).[18] This is akin to Gal and Woolard's (2001) notion of authenticity and, according to Woolard (2016: 23), 'such iconicity is itself the essence of linguistic authenticity'. Thus, in the context of the Catalan language, a native Catalan speaker can be understood as an iconic representation of the Catalan nation. Further, indexical associations with a particular social group can become apparently natural through a politically constructed past and institutional imposition. For example, early educational and language planning policies in Catalonia foregrounded the notion of a pure Catalan language that became indexically associated with authenticity and created 'ideological expectations among speakers' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 596). I will show in the following chapters how this affected the linguistic practice of both native and non-native Catalan speakers.

[18] Iconisation can be compared with Silverstein's (2003) n+1-th order of indexicality to which Johnstone et al. (2006: 93) assigns the value of 'third-order indexicality'.

It is clear from the above how indexicality and stancetaking are related to identity construction. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594) state:

> In identity formation, indexicality relies heavily on ideological structures, for associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values – that is, ideologies – about the sorts of speakers who (can or should) produce particular sorts of language.

Thus, ideology is realised through discourse and reflected in the indexical stances taken up by an individual or group. The multiple stances we take, how we position ourselves, or are positioned by others, reflects a social constructionist view of the fluidity of identities and the analytical frameworks of stance and indexicality offer flexible tools for analysing the discursive construction of identities. As argued by Johnstone (2007), stancetaking, indexicality and identity are interwoven, as can be seen in my data in the way some women position themselves as authentic Catalan speakers. In this way, by claiming membership of a specific group, a particular stance is linked indirectly to that social identity (Ochs, 1992). I will show in the following chapters how ideologies and identities are discursively constructed in the oral history interviews and social media data through stancetaking and how these stances are indexical of much wider social identities.

3.6 Space: an overarching metaphor

Recent attention to space has orientated towards a social constructionist concept of space. Space is no longer conceived as just a physical formation, it is also socially constructed (Harvey, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1994, 2005). Space helps people ‘locate’ themselves; defining where they belong gives them a sense of place (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). As previously

introduced in chapter one, the local focus and the attention paid to social practices suggests space is a useful metaphor to organise the broad themes that have emerged in the analysis. The space paradigm I have developed considers three principal spaces: physical, temporal and ideological and is useful on a number of levels.

The three-part spatial framework correlates with the principal elements of national identity that I identify in chapter two: territorial boundaries are associated with physical space; a common past relates to temporal space; and, the cultural and political dimensions of national identity can be mapped onto ideological space. Anderson's (1983) imagined community is an important element in the notion of ideological space. The imagined Catalan community can be conceptualised as an imagined nested community that is discursively constructed on different levels: local, national/transnational, and virtual, and forms part of this ideological space.

As argued by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 6), the notion of space as a product of social practice shifts the focus of space towards 'more communicative or discursive conceptualisations'. In other words, space needs to be treated not just physically but also discursively. The social practices carried out by different social actors in these spaces interact and can be regarded as a 'multiplicity' thus orientating towards heterogeneity and pluralism (Massey, 2005: 10). The multiplicity of spaces that intersect, align or misalign do so due to the way different people experience or interpret the space and/or their position within that space. This then brings together ideologies of language

with stance and indexicality. Socially constructed notions of space can be indexed by a linguistic form that can index the 'relevance of particular spaces' (Pujolar, 2009: 85). In these spaces, distinctions are made between what is normal and appropriate language use and what is deviant (Blommaert, 2010). In this way, language choice asserts validity to what the dominant group consider as 'legitimate practices and ideologies' and the stances the group take in relation to these ideologies (ibid.).

As I will show in this study, repressed groups and their language can be ideologically erased from certain spaces (Irvine & Gal, 2000) which highlights the power of language as 'dependent on and derived from space' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 10). The discursive construction of space, through linguistic or semiotic markers can also index different levels of social stratification (Johnstone, 2004) and group membership. As Blommaert (2010: 5) argues, all horizontal spaces such as the neighbourhood, region or country, are also vertical spaces where 'socially, culturally and politically salient distinctions occur'. In my data, the displaying of the Catalan pro-independence flag, the *estelada*[19], indexes a political ideology often attached to authenticity and nativism and thus membership of the 'in-group'. Conversely, indicating that a certain individual lives in *els blocs* (the blocks) indexes migration, lower socioeconomic status and belonging to the 'out-group'. This demonstrates the importance of space in the construction of identities (Bhabha, 1994). People give meaning to space and use space to make sense of the world and their

[19] The official Catalan flag is the *senyera*, its colours are four red stripes on a yellow background. The unofficial pro-independence flag, the *estelada*, has a white star within a blue triangle at the top of the flag.

social identity (Eckert, 2010). As Simmel (1997) argues ‘we create our identities through locating self in space and claiming ownership of spaces’ (Simmel, 1997, cited in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 7). Anzaldúa (1987), for example, considers who inhabits the nation’s borders or the boundaries of space. In the context of El Masnou, boundaries can be both physical and ideological. Transnational communities transfer elements of their countries of origin to their homes, shops and in their daily practices ‘linking past with the present in the compression of time and space’ (Garrett et al., 2005: 532). However, their exclusion from certain local spaces can be linked to ideologies of language and authenticity. In this way, as Eckert (2010: 169) argues, the notion of local exists in ‘a discursive space that constructs the “other”’ and claiming ownership of these local spaces creates a local Masnou identity that is inseparable from how the ‘locals’ ‘situate themselves with respect to the rest of the world’ (ibid.).

Drawing on the concept of space, I create a theoretical map to organise the diverse themes in my data to which I apply three principal spaces: physical, temporal and ideological. Physical spaces include the public and the private, the village and the nation. Temporal space includes the main historical events as well as the actual oral history interviews; the women symbolically create a sense of space and time through their narratives of remembering. The nation, at both the broader and local level, also constitutes an ideological space alongside language, hegemony and repression. These spaces do not stand alone but interweave and overlap with one another; as my findings will show,

discourses of nation, nationalism, language and identity can be mapped onto all three spaces depending on the context.

3.7 Methods

The second part of this chapter describes the methods used for data collection, transcription and analysis of the oral history interviews (discourse analysis) and social media data (small story framework with discourse analysis). During my field trips I carried out archival research in the *Arxiu Historic Municipal del Masnou* (El Masnou's Municipal Historical Archive), *Institut de Dones* (Women's Institute) and the *Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya* (Catalan National Archive). Although I did not use any of the data I collected from the archives in my analysis, the archival work was very useful for historical context and the local archive in Masnou was a good starting point to put me in contact with potential participants.

3.7.1 Recruitment strategies

Having lived in El Masnou for a number of years, I had originally intended to mainly recruit participants through my own acquaintances and through snowball sampling (Hamilton, 2007). On informal visits to the village sometime before I began my fieldwork, I spoke to a number of potential participants who agreed to take part in the study. A pilot interview was conducted in February 2015. The pilot was planned with a woman that I understood to have some interesting stories and the interview and subsequent analysis were valuable as they informed the study in terms of the topic guide that would be used as a

basis for the basic shape of the interviews. Further, the pilot interview also offered insight into the advantages and disadvantages of interviewing women I already knew, either as friends of acquaintances.

The selection process began with friends and acquaintances although it was clear quite early on in the fieldwork that it was preferable to recruit women that I did not know. Firstly, it was easier to agree a convenient time and place for the interview; the women I knew often agreed to be interviewed (perhaps because they did not feel they could refuse) but subsequently were very vague about fixing an actual date or reluctant to do so. Secondly, there were also fewer issues with knowledge gaps in the interviews. Friends or acquaintances were less willing to explain certain things in detail, assuming I was already aware of some of their history or unwilling to have it 'officially on record'. One of the women I know had experienced some important events that had shaped her life profoundly but she made no reference to them during our interview. Friends or acquaintances may also have felt uncomfortable discussing particular topics or revealing opinions to me whereas strangers generally seemed more at ease discussing certain topics. Thus, I needed to change my recruitment strategy. The local archive passed on a number of interesting contacts and I also contacted the civic centre, the town hall, women's groups and the local office of Catalan language learning. These last two sources were invaluable in helping me locate migrant women who were essential to the study. Many of these interviews then set in motion subsequent snowballing as I was given many more contacts. As a recruitment strategy, snowball sampling is often more efficient than other recruitment strategies (for example,

advertising) and referral by another creates a degree of trust and validates the study in the eyes of the participants, and in particular can depend on the individual's interview experience (Noy, 2008). A number of the women I recruited were either part of a language class or IT class and, as one of the women told me, 'the English woman interviewing in the village' became a topic of conversation. The women discussed their positive experiences with each other which led to other women becoming interested in taking part in the study. One of the disadvantages of snowball sampling is that participants will often belong to the same social network and share similar ideologies or social status (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Diversity of participants was a central consideration of the study and, alongside the practicalities of handling a manageable dataset, meant that in the end I did not use all the contacts I had been given.

3.7.2 Interviews and Focus Groups

In order to address to what extent the role the Catalan language plays in defining women's identities over the last five decades, I aimed to interview three generational groups: Catalan women who lived through the last 15 years of the Franco regime (aged between approximately 60 and 80 years old), women who grew up during the Transition period (1975-1982) and the early years of democracy (to include both Catalan women and internal migrant women from other parts of Spain, aged between 35 and 60 years old) and young women, aged between 18 and 35 years raised in Catalonia as well as migrants from other areas of Spain and outside. The ages of the women I interviewed ranged from between 22 and 79 years, and the length of time they had lived in the village ranged from between a few months to all their lives.

Over the course of the two field trips the total number of interviews I conducted was 40, including a second follow-up interview. I conducted this second interview during a brief visit I made to El Masnou in January 2016 in order to clarify some points from one of the interviews. In total, I interviewed 48 women including two focus groups, each with 4 participants. The breakdown of the women's origins was 26 native Catalan women, 15 Spanish (from other parts of the Spanish state), 4 South American and 3 Moroccan women. The women came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds and included teachers, civil servants, housewives, retired and unemployed women. The full participant profile can be found in Appendix I.

Although oral history interviews are often conducted with older individuals, I also used the method when interviewing some of the younger women in this study. Their stories are also coloured by the past; their families' lived experiences become their stories to retell from their perspective and in their own social context. On three occasions I interviewed two women in the same interview. One interview was with two sisters, one with two friends, and another with two migrant women. In this instance, a joint interview with the migrant women was essential for creating a comfortable environment and also for communication as one of the women was able to translate from Arabic into Castilian when there were some difficulties with vocabulary. I was initially concerned that a dominant personality could take over in a joint interview, but they worked very well as I found the women were often able to bounce opinions off each other or stimulate forgotten memories (Thompson, 2000). As Graham Smith (2016: 207) notes, remembering can be a shared experience

and a joint interview (or focus group) can often be a more appropriate method to the ‘odd social arrangement’ of a one-to-one interview.

For the youngest women in the study, I had planned to conduct focus groups rather than interviews to provide a relaxed and less intimidating environment and therefore facilitate discussion (Morgan, 1997). I also conducted a focus group with four older women that I met at the Women's Centre as they felt more comfortable as a group. A disadvantage of focus group discussion is what is known as the ‘group effect’ where the pressure of the group can influence participants’ expression and opinions (Carey, 1994). In this group I did not perceive this as a problem; the group dynamic worked well and created an environment where the women’s experiences were expressed through sharing or comparing their different perspectives (Leavy, 2007). Focus groups are a useful platform for exploring attitudes on past and present issues (Slim & Thompson, 1993) and although they cannot achieve the same depth of detail as the one-to-one interviews I conducted, they were a rich source of data and certain topics, such as discourses of discrimination, may not have been forthcoming without the support of others. Graham Smith (2016) argues that memory is the result of social experiences and thus reminiscing is a social phenomenon that can be stimulated by group discussion. Focus groups are also considered an appropriate method for exploring national identities as these are individually and co-constructed within a group context. In their work on the construction of Austrian national identity, Wodak et al. (2009) use focus groups as a method to recontextualise political discourse expressed by politicians and the media in everyday conversation (see also De Cillia et al.,

1999).

The interviews and focus groups were audio recorded and lasted between one hour and two and a half hours, with an average of approximately one and a half hours. The time spent with the women however was often longer with preamble before recording and post-interview discussion. This was an important part of the interview process in order to try to create an informal atmosphere, to put the women at ease and try to find a common interest that would establish a connection (Yow, 2016). An oral history interview is a collaborative process that aims to decentre authority (Leavy, 2007). Leavy notes that the level of collaboration varies depending on each project and may begin with the timing and location selection of the interview.

With regards to interview location, when I arranged the interview, I asked where it would be more convenient for the participants to meet. I was surprised that most of the women suggested carrying out the interviews in their own homes. It is often discussed, even among Catalans themselves that they are very closed and difficult to get to know (Woolard, 1989). As one woman acknowledged during our interview: *'el català sí que es tancat, [...] Som una gent mes aviat reservada'* (It's true, a Catalan is closed [...] we are pretty reserved people). On a few occasions, for example when interviewing migrant women, the local women's centre and the Municipal Archives both allowed me to use their facilities. I also conducted one interview in the store room at the back of a shop and another behind the counter of a shop which was the only way the participant could spare the time to be interviewed. This was not ideal

as I often had to stop recording if she needed to attend to a customer. However, it did provide for an informal interview context and our discussion also spiked the interest of her business partner who was working in the shop. She found the topic stimulating and wanted to join the debate and asked if she could also be interviewed.

I requested permission to record at the beginning of every interview or focus group and explained my research project and the proposed format of the interview. The interviews and focus groups were conducted following a topic guide of predetermined themes that gave a basic shape to the interview (Appendix II). This was designed to be flexible so as to allow information to emerge and not as a prescriptive list of questions to follow. The topic guide served as a prompt for me and evolved throughout the field trips as new themes emerged from the interviews. As the aim of the oral history interview is to encourage a free-flowing narrative, questions were open-ended and non-leading and were used as a tool to guide the interviews (Thompson, 2000). As Anderson et al. (1987) note, it is important to formulate general questions to enable the women to reflect on their own experiences and choose which experiences are central to their individual histories. On a number of occasions, some of the women appeared perplexed, even uncomfortable, that I did not have a list of questions to ask them; others expected the interview to take the form of a questionnaire, or they were afraid I would ask questions to which they would not know the answer. This highlights the expectation of the interview being a structured question/answer process and also the uncertainty and nervousness we experience in this situation (Wolfson, 1976). However,

once I explained the notion of the oral history approach and the women began to recount their stories, they generally relaxed and spoke freely. Field notes were taken to record my reflections following the interviews and to note salient themes that emerged as the field work progressed and which began to inform the data analysis.

3.7.3 Transcription of data

Apart from two interviews where there was a considerable amount of recorded conversation that was not relevant to the study, I fully transcribed all the interviews.[20] There has been considerable debate about whether oral material should be turned into printed text (Frisch, 2006; Good, 2016) and this becomes even more pertinent given the digital technology available today (Thomson, 2007). Digital indexing enables easier access and search options of audio files (Boyd, 2016) and thus, according to Frisch (2006) enables the return of aurality to the oral history interview. Good (2016: 458) argues that the process of transcribing 'distracts attention from its source, the spoken word'. The written transcript cannot convey the emotion sometimes described in the spoken word, even if it is in another language. This was made clear to me when I presented at a seminar the earlier example of Marta's narrative of her family's struggle during the social changes of the 1960s. I played the audio recording alongside a written translation. There were no Catalan speakers in the audience, however they could all hear the emotion in Marta's narrative that would have been lost if I had just presented a written translated transcript.

[20] Due to the large volume of data, a full copy of all the transcriptions is provided on a USB drive attached to the thesis.

However, for analysis purposes, I prefer working with a combination of audio and written transcript for a closer reading of the narratives.

The use, or not, of punctuation is also a cause for concern as it could indicate the way something was said which could vary considerably from the actual oral version (Moore, 1997). Portelli (1991) argues that inserting punctuation erases the rhythm of the speaker. In the main, I have tried to limit my use of punctuation. However, given the prevalence in Spanish and Catalan to habitually use the negative 'no?' as a form of rhetorical tag question, I needed to punctuate the text as the lack of a comma before the tag 'no?' could change the meaning of the whole phrase. As Good (2016) points out, transcription is not an exact science and I aimed to make the transcriptions as true to the oral version as possible and be consistent.

The data analysis methods I used did not need a narrow transcription therefore I transcribed the interviews intelligent verbatim (Thompson, 2000). However, I did transcribe everything that was said in the interview, including false starts, repetitions and incomplete sentences. In this way, I aimed to make the transcriptions as representative of the interviews as possible and ensured I used a consistent transcription format throughout. In order to avoid loss of meaning or misreading of the text, I analysed all the interviews and social media data in the original language and only translated the interview extracts, tweets and Facebook comments that I used as examples in the thesis. All translations into English are mine. Pseudonyms have been used throughout to protect the women's anonymity.

3.7.4 Social Media data collection

In order to investigate if the experiences of women in a local context are also evident at a wider societal level, I collected data from social media platforms. I will discuss in detail the collection and analysis of the social media data in the final chapter, with a brief summary here. The social media data were collected on Twitter and Facebook and derive from a corpus of 6,846 tweets and 672 Facebook comments. The tweets were collected using Twitter's advanced search function and all tweets containing the hashtag #*votarepertu* (#Iwillvoteforyou) were captured from the date of the video release on 1/11/14 up to and including 9/11/14, the date of the popular consultation of Catalan independence. The Facebook data were captured in the same way and copied into a word document although as comments are not searchable by hashtag, it is not as straightforward as Twitter where tweets attached to a single hashtag can be fairly easily collated. The Facebook dataset consisted of 672 comments and as it was a more manageable size it was manually cleaned of unidentifiable comments and the number of comments posted by men and women were manually identified.

3.7.5 Data analyses

The two distinct contexts of data collection – oral history and social media – necessitated different analytical approaches. Each one will be discussed, in turn, below.

3.7.5.1 Interviews and focus groups: discourse analysis

I used discourse analysis as a tool to analyse the interview and focus group data. In its broadest form discourse relates to 'all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds' and it is in this interaction where meaning is created (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 7). Discourse analysis is the study of situated language use (Gee and Handford, 2012: 1) and whilst it incorporates a range of different approaches, most analysts would agree that discourse is a social and cultural phenomenon and the 'social world is produced and reproduced in great part through discourse' (Bucholtz, 2003: 45). I draw on Gee's (1999) distinction between the big-D Discourse, and a small-d discourse. In my analysis, big-D Discourse refers to the broader ideologies and assumptions and public discourses. The small-d discourse refers to the 'text' – the women's narratives in interviews and focus groups and I analyse how the big-D Discourse informs the small-d discourse. Following a sociocultural linguistic approach that 'focuses on both the details of language and the workings of culture and society' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 586), discourse analysis is an appropriate method to explore women's experiences and how these are shaped by broader social and cultural ideals. Kopijn (2004: 142) contends that oral history analysis is 'accompanied by an almost total neglect of the problems of language, meaning, and context'. However, although a formal discourse analytical approach may not be taken, many oral historians do explore how language constructs meaning, memory and identity. Schiffrin (2003) and Clary-Lemon's (2010) recent work are examples of studies that combine the two approaches and my research contributes to this small body of work. Clary-Lemon's study applies discourse analysis to oral

histories to explore the construction of national identities of Irish migrants in Canada; Schiffrin analyses oral testimonies of Holocaust victims. As Schiffrin (2003: 84) argues, a discourse analysis approach to oral histories offers the opportunity 'to bring together a joint concern of historians and linguists: how individuals, societies and cultures use texts to represent the past'. This approach is also concomitant with the social constructionist understanding of multiple, fluid identities that are socially situated (Gee, 1999) or context-dependent.

Other theories and approaches to discourse analysis also informed my study such as van Dijk's analytical strategies relating to ideologies and racism (1993, 2000, 2005 for discursive racism in Spain). Reisigl & Wodak's (2009) discourse historical approach (DHA) has been applied to the discursive construction of national identity (see also de Cillia et al., 1999). DHA focuses on analysis at micro, macro and intertextual levels and draws on linguistic theories of argumentation, rhetoric and grammar (Meyer, 2001). Whilst I have adopted some of the discursive strategies of this framework in my analysis, I have not used DHA as a principal analytical tool, which is primarily used to analyse political discourse. Although I did analyse certain micro linguistic features, such as pronouns or conjunctions, the analysis I undertook was principally a macro discourse analysis that explored the different stancetaking and positioning that women adopted in their discourse in order to situate the women's discourse within broader sociocultural structures.

I began the analysis by first listening to the interviews completely twice and replaying sections of the interviews or chosen extracts on numerous occasions. Whilst listening and transcribing, I took notes of recurring themes, particular nuances and content that were salient and that began to shape the analysis. Some researchers propose that the interviewer's voice should be excluded in transcription in order to concentrate on the actual content of the interviewee's narrative (Riessman, 2008). However, I follow Portelli (2016) and others who argue that inclusion of the researcher's voice is fundamental to show the context of the narrative. The quantity of data produced from 40 interviews was extremely large therefore, following transcription, I imported it into AntConc, an open source corpus analysis toolkit for text analysis (Anthony, 2015). This enabled me to search for key words, identify salient themes and sub-themes and organise the data into more manageable sections (the code book can be found in Appendix III). Thereafter, analysis of the data was an iterative process which involved reading, re-reading and re-listening. Three overarching themes were identified that formed the foundation for the first three analysis chapters: language, integration and identity (see code books in Appendix IV). I noted relevant extracts from the interviews for each chapter and compared and contrasted the women's experiences within the principal themes as well as cross-referencing certain information with written sources. I endeavoured to choose excerpts from the interviews that exemplified the similarities and variability of the data.

3.7.5.2 The small stories framework

The small stories framework is a model developed by Michael Bamberg, Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Luke Moissinac (e.g. Bamberg, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2005; Moissinac and Bamberg, 2005) as a paradigm for narrative and identity research. I draw on this framework as an analytical tool for the social media data as the structure of the narratives found on social media are different from the interview data. Small story research was originally developed as an alternative to traditional models of narrative research which examines the 'Big Stories', i.e. the life history or biographical narrative such as those narrated in an interview context. Conversely, small stories are short and refer to 'stories told in interaction; stories that do not necessarily thematize the speaker, definitely not a whole life […]' (Bamberg, 2006: 63). Small story research seeks to challenge the master narrative of Big Stories, to uncover hidden, silenced or neglected stories. In this respect, as Georgakopoulou (2014) argues, small story research is not only a framework for narrative and identity research, but it also addresses epistemological issues and complements the oral history approach as well as serving as a methodological tool. This framework is discussed in more detail in chapter seven.

3.7.5.3 Social media data: corpus, small stories and discourse analysis

The social media data were analysed in two stages and will be discussed in detail in chapter seven. For the first stage of analysis, as with the interview transcripts, the data were imported into AntConc (Anthony, 2015). Given the size of the dataset, this enabled me to establish a broad picture of the data

(Baker, 2006) and identify key words, recurring themes and the most frequently used hashtags to guide me in the next stage of the analysis (the codebook can be found in Appendix III). The second stage of the analysis employed multimodal discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2005; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; van Leeuwen & Kress, 2011). 'Multimodal' indicates that several semiotic modes, such as language, image and gesture are integrated in a particular discourse instance (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). Multimodality therefore 'focuses on the common properties of, and differences between, these semiotic modes' (van Leeuwen, 2015: 447). Thus this is an appropriate approach to use in order to analyse the different semiotic resources used in the tweets and comments. Drawing on theories of national identity (Smith, 1991; Guibernau, 1996) and gender and nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997) the textual and visual representations were manually coded based on the emergent themes of emotional attachment, history, culture, future goals and gendered nationalism. The themes were categorised as follows, adapting Wodak et al.'s (2009) matrix in their study of the discursive construction of national identity in Austria:

1. national sentiment: passion, emotional attachment to country
2. collective history: myths, triumphs, defeats
3. collective culture: symbols, language, literature, music
4. shared destiny: future goals, aspirations
5. gendered constructions of nationhood

3.8 Ethical concerns and reflexivity

The research proposal was approved by University of Roehampton Research Ethics Committee. As already discussed, before each interview I explained both verbally and in writing the aims of the project, the women's anonymity and the confidentiality of our conversations. I explained to the participants their right to withdraw at any time, the potential future use of the interview data and asked for agreement to record the interview. I received their written consent and left them a copy of the consent form (Appendix VI). At the end of the interview, I reassured the women about the confidential use of the recording.

3.8.1 Reflexivity

As a feminist researcher, reflexivity is an essential element in my research practice and I have tried to follow a reflexive approach throughout the different stages of this study. Feminist methodology raises many questions about the positioning of the researcher and the researched and the potential imbalances of power and privilege (Gluck and Patai, 1991; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002; Sangster, 1994). I tried to be reflexive about how the women would view me as a white, middle-class English woman. As Ramazanoğlu & Holland (2002: 4) argue the 'undifferentiated category of "women"' is not a unified category and other social values such as class and ethnicity and other differences between women should not be ignored.

Understanding the power imbalance in an interview situation, I endeavoured to address this in some way. As much as possible I left the choice of time and

location up to the women and as previously discussed, tried to make the process informal and relaxed. Adler and Adler (2003: 528) suggest that ‘interviewing in a respondent’s home casts a guest ambience over the researcher’s presence and imbues the researcher with an aura of friendship’. The preamble and post-interview chat was important to develop a level of rapport and finalise the interview without leaving the women feeling ‘used’, an ethical concern in feminist research. As Finch (1981: 78) argues, the ‘romanticisation of oral history ignores the fact that we are often "trading" on our identity as a woman, a professional’ in order to obtain information. During the pre- and post-interview conversation, the women often took the opportunity to ask me about myself, and I explained my personal interest in the research. The fact that I had lived in the village, spoke Spanish and Catalan, had been married to a Catalan and my children had gone to the local school were factors in my favour and I was aware at times of almost trying to demonstrate that my background legitimised my position as a researcher with the authority to undertake the study. However, whilst it is fair to say that not being Spanish certainly counted in my favour, at least in the eyes of the Catalan women, nor am I Catalan. My background and knowledge of Catalan and Spanish culture put me in an insider/outsider position. This situation has been debated by other scholars in the field of ethnography (e.g. Acker, 2001; Brodsky & Faryal, 2006; Kusow, 2003; Mahoney, 2007) but it can also be extended to other forms of qualitative research (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009); for example, oral historian Janis Wilton (2016) reflects on her researcher relationship with her own family. Insiders ‘belong’ to a group, thus sharing certain knowledge, perspectives or experiences whereas ‘outsiders’ do not belong to the group under study. Hill-

Collins (1990) suggests that ‘insiders’ are able to gain more detailed and intimate perspectives by using their knowledge of the group. On the other hand, others argue that an ‘outsider’ is perceived as more neutral and therefore certain information may be disclosed that would not be given to an ‘insider’ (Fay, 1996).

In their research in Turkey and Azerbajain, Ergun and Erdemir (2010) found that other factors come into play other than nationality when being treated as an insider or outsider. Sharing common ground can also help increase the researchers’ ‘trustworthiness’. Indeed, the ‘stranger’ may have advantages over the ‘insider’, as Simmel (2002: 30) notes: ‘distance indicates that one who is close by is remote, but his strangeness indicates that one who is remote is near’. However, as argued by Mullings (1999), the binary insider/outsider only serves to create a boundary and does not reflect the dynamic of these positions. Naples (1996: 84) contends that the insider/outsider status is ‘negotiated and renegotiated in particular, everyday interactions’. Further, the notion of the ‘space between’ challenges the binary (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 60) and highlights the fluidity of identities; different positions will shift and be repositioned in each interview encounter. Hence, the space paradigm described earlier can also be applied to my own position as researcher, situated in an in-between insider/outsider space.

As in all research, I came to this study with prior assumptions and an agenda and these inevitably shaped the way I conducted the interviews (Riessman, 2008). As Gluck and Patai (1991: 3) argue, following the interview, the process

of framing, interpreting and presenting is when the researcher must fulfil the obligation of making the research ‘for’ women. Care must be taken when we interpret meanings, as Katherine Borland (1991) found when she portrayed her grandmother as a feminist, an interpretation her grandmother strongly disagreed with. Molly Andrews (2007: 17) warns that as researchers we ‘need to tread cautiously with other people’s lives’. I carried this advice with me throughout the study and many times during the transcription process and analysis I paused to remind myself of my responsibility to remain true to the women’s accounts and my representation of their stories whilst not always agreeing with their positions. Stanley (1984: 201) calls this ‘the conundrum of how not to undercut, discredit or write-off women's consciousnesses’, especially when these differ from their own. However, my own perspectives and experiences may have mediated my choice of extracts to include and my understanding of their experiences. In the end, analysis and interpretation is inevitably subjective by virtue of our position as researcher with control over the end product (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli, 2007). I endeavoured to be conscious of the power I exercised over these choices and the accountability of my decisions (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002).

As an oral history researcher, I am very conscious of the effect that recounting the past may have on the women who participated in my study. An apparently innocuous question such as ‘tell me about your childhood’ generated diverse responses and many women were surprised by the emotions this question uncovered. I was unprepared for one woman’s reaction when I asked her if she had children. She became very upset and told me that one of her

daughters was terminally ill. I stopped the recorder, apologised, and suggested we end the interview. The woman however insisted we carry on and I gave her time to compose herself and we continued with the interview. Andrews' (2007) caution was at the forefront of my mind at this time.

I was very careful to thank all participants very soon after the interview, usually by text message or on occasions, with a card. I received very positive feedback from nearly all the women I interviewed, with comments such as 'it was good to have someone to listen to me' or 'the interview made us think'. I also tried to give something back to the community in a small way; I spent a few weeks assisting in an English conversation class and I also helped one woman's daughter with her UK university application.

Although all the women have been given pseudonyms, the question of anonymity in a village setting when many of the women know each other, or know of each other, is complex. When I explained to the women that their names would not appear anywhere, some were unconcerned, others told me I could use their names if I wished. Josselson (2011) argues for removing identifying information to guarantee anonymity. However, there is identifying information that is fundamental to my study, such as ethnicity and language and to strip this out would result in the loss of context and some meaning. Another concern for anonymity was whether to make the village anonymous. In an ethnographic study of an Irish village, Scheper-Hughes (2000) faced the problem of anonymity when the village under study was identified by the press.

This caused embarrassment for the people and the village. Two decades later she argued:

> Anonymity makes us unmindful that we owe our anthropological subjects the same degree of courtesy, empathy and friendship in writing as we generally extend to them face to face in the field […]. Sacrificing anonymity means we may have to write less poignant, more circumspect ethnographies, a high price for any writer to pay. But our version of the Hippocratic oath – to do no harm, in so far as possible to our informants – would seem to demand this (Scheper-Hughes, 2000: 128).

Scheper-Hughes claimed that she would have written a more careful account if she had not used pseudonyms for both the people and the village. As Hammersley and Traianou argue, people are 'not *either* identifiable *or* anonymous, their identities will be more or less difficult to recognise for different audiences' (2012: 123, original emphasis). There is a tension and a balance to find between anonymisation and confidentiality and producing an accurate, detailed account of my findings (ibid.). The balance will not be perfect but in the end, I decided to use pseudonyms for the women but not to anonymise the village.

3.8.2 Ethical concerns of Social Media Data

With respect to the social media data, there is much debate surrounding what constitutes best ethical practice for researchers of social media data. boyd and Crawford (2012) argue just because data are publicly available, it does not necessarily mean it is ethical to use it. Whiteman (2012) discusses the difficulties in defining the distinction between public and private domains and describes how even guidance from professional bodies can be vague and open to negotiation, putting much of the onus on the researcher. In order to

address ethical issues of data collection, the data collected were limited to publicly accessible tweets and Facebook posts and available under Twitter's Terms of Service (Twitter, n.d.) and Facebook's Terms of Service (Facebook, 2015). Users' anonymity was protected by remove any identifying information. All user names in the tweets were anonymised with the convention @user.

In the following chapters I present the analysis of the oral history interviews and the social media data beginning with a focus on language and linguistic repression in chapter four.

Chapter 4

LANGUAGE: REPRESSION AND PRESERVATION OF THE NATION

la lengua es importantísima por eso digo que se tiene que defender estas pequeñas lenguas porque son pequeños tesoros […] Es que en época de Franco la lengua catalana o el gallego, no eran lenguas para él, eran dialectos, no te lo decían como lengua. Nunca, por eso, claro, eso es la voluntad del pueblo de conservar una lengua claro 40 años (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15)

the language is so very important, that's why these small languages need to be defended because they are small treasures […] During Franco's time, the Catalan language or Galician weren't languages for him, they were dialects, he never spoke of them as languages. Never, that's why, of course, it's the will of the people to preserve a language for 40 years (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15)

4.1 A history of repression?

As previously discussed in chapter two, the Catalan language has been a major symbol of Catalan nationalism since the 19th century and it is considered by some to be the key component of Catalan culture (Conversi, 1997). Catalan evolved from the Romance language of the Pyrenees territory and was one of five distinct linguistic groups that derived from Latin in the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century (the other four being Galaico-Portuguese, Asturian-Leonese, Castilian and Aragonese) (Díez Rodríguez et al., 1977). These different varieties of vulgar Latin used in everyday communication took on their own characteristics depending on their regional location (Mar Molinero, 2000). Catalan was widely spoken by the whole population of today's Catalan region with Latin only being used by the elites, clerics and as a formal written language (Vallverdú, 1984). In Medieval Europe Catalan was considered as

culturally important as French or Italian and its literary heritage of that time is thought to be one of the reasons for its endurance despite long periods of oppression (Mar Molinero, 2000). From the 11th century, Castilian was to become the more dominant language throughout Spain due to the leading role of the Kingdom of Castile in the 'reconquest' of Iberia following the Arab invasion of the 8th century (ibid.). Additionally, Castilian powers promoted the colonisation of the Americas from the end of the 15th century; it was then that the first subordination of the peripheral regions could be seen with the Castilian Crown prohibiting the regions of Catalonia and Galicia from trading with the Spanish colonies (Díez Rodríguez et al., 1977).

As noted in chapter two, the end of the Siege of Barcelona on 11th September 1714 marks the day the city fell to the troops of Felipe de Borbón (Felipe V) during the War of Succession. This period signalled the start of a conscious awareness of using the Castilian language to construct the Spanish state, linguistic uniformity being one of the main objectives of the new monarchy (Siguan, 1992). As such, Felipe V prohibited Catalan institutions, laws, language and culture and this period marked the beginning of a long history of repression (Conversi, 1997).[21] At this time there was already limited schooling in Catalan, although due to political and military dominance Castilian Spanish was also becoming more and more established and developed into a marker of Spanish national identity. The planned use of language as a nation building

[21] The War of Succession was fought to decide who would become the new ruler of Spain. France and Castile preferred Felipe de Borbón whilst Catalonia, Valencia and Aragón preferred Archduke Charles of Austria (Crameri, 2012). As I will discuss later on in the thesis, although the War of Succession was not a separatist war, it is often perceived (and promoted) as such by pro-separatist Catalans.

tool is evident when it was decreed for the first time that Castilian was to be the language of all education, although with so few people receiving formal education, Catalan remained the language of the people (Mar Molinero, 2000). Literary dominance of Castilian continued into the 19th century throughout Spain. Spanish writer and philosopher, Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), influenced by Herder, was convinced that Castilian was above any other language in the country and, as a defining element of national identity, he attributed the '*origins* of national values' to the Castilian language (Longhurst, 2014: 585, original emphasis).

In Catalonia, the cultural and linguistic revival of the mid-19th century, known as the *Renaixença* (Renaissance) led to a creation of Catalan national culture as part of Catalan nation building (Conversi, 1997). This marked the beginning of the linguistic normalisation of Catalan when it began to be introduced into universities and the first Catalan newspapers appeared in the 1880s (Payne, 1971; Vallverdú, 1984). During this time, influential figures in Catalonia also of Herderian thought, such as Valentí Almirall and Enric Prat de la Riba, wrote about the national spirit of the language, with Almirall stating that the character of Catalonia, its personality and spirit were profoundly linked to its language (Conversi, 1990). This strong cultural nationalism gave the basis for the development of political nationalism and helped establish the Catalan identity needed to form national consciousness. In other words, the Catalan people started to become aware that they formed part of a collective and shared an ethnic, cultural and linguistic background. But this was also an economic nationalism; Catalan industrialisation enabled the region to prosper and

advance in sharp contrast to a supposedly ‘backward’, largely rural Spain (Dowling, 2013: 13). Moreover, following Spain’s loss of their remaining empire in the war in Cuba against the United States (known as the ‘disaster of 1898’), Catalonia used its economic strength to support demands for further devolution of powers (Balfour, 1995). The development of Catalan nationalism was briefly crushed by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship between 1923 and 1930. However, when Primo de Rivera was overthrown in 1931, the short period of the Second Republic began. Catalonia was granted autonomy and the Catalan government, the *Generalitat*, was formed, the Catalan language was given co-official status with Castilian and the education system was reformed (Guibernau, 2013a). There was a marked expansion in publications in Catalan; as well as a notable increase in the number of books, at the beginning of the civil war in 1936 there were 27 newspapers printed in Catalan and over 1000 magazines (Laitin, 1989).

The linguistic and cultural revival ended with Franco’s long authoritarian regime and Catalonia was subject to a repression that lasted for nearly 40 years. The legacy of the regime’s attempt to create a homogenous, monolingual nation in a multilingual territory remains a complex issue still today. When Franco came into power in 1939, all Catalan institutions, language and symbols, such as the flag and the national anthem, were prohibited (May, 2012); this has been described by some as a ‘cultural genocide’ (Webber & Strubell, 1991: 20). The regime can be divided into two periods: early and late Francoism. Early Francoism covered the period from the end of the civil war in 1939 until 1959, and was conditioned by severe

political repression and material deprivation under the economic policy of autarky. Late Francoism covered the years between 1960 until Franco's death in 1975 and is known as the period of *desarrollismo* or developmentalism. The harshest repression was felt in the earlier years, but linguistic repression in differing measures continued until the dictator's death in 1975, particularly in the public sphere (Newman & Trenchs Parera, 2015).

Following the nationalist victory in 1939, Franco ordered the closure of Barcelona Football Club and the *Palau de la Música Catalana*, the Catalan Music Palace that was home to the Catalan Choral Society, the *Orfeó Català*, an institution deeply rooted in Catalan culture. The only public entity that was not repressed by the regime was the Catholic Church and initially it followed the conservative ideologies of Spanish National Catholicism (Dowling, 2013). Legally, any publications in Catalan were restricted to religious publications, but strategies of cultural resistance were soon developed. In the late forties, clandestine Catalan classes were held and a handful of books were printed in Catalan, although this was a very risky practice. In the late fifties, further cultural resistance movements began to emerge including public displays of the Catalan flag, *la senyera*, and the formation of small intellectual institutions (Guibernau, 2004). One of these institutions, *Òmnium Cultural*, founded in 1961 to promote all aspects of Catalan culture, is today one of the leading organisations behind the independence movement. Whereas publicly Castilian was the only language permitted, the regime did permit the use of the Catalan language in the home, possibly because Franco realised it would be an impossible practice to police, and its preservation thus became

associated with women, and specifically mothers. Due to its public prohibition, speaking Catalan became a way of making a political statement against the regime and the private space of the home became a key factor in the survival of the language (Dowling, 2013).

Given its influence on Catalanism, nationalism and Catalan identity as a whole, language was an important theme to explore in the interviews. Although I included questions relating to language, the topic surfaced time and time again unprompted throughout the interviews. Coming from varied backgrounds and diverse family structures, all the women I interviewed had either personal stories or family stories relating to language repression and this chapter will explore the women's perspectives and attitudes towards the language.

The main themes explored in this chapter can be framed by the concept of space introduced in chapter three. I will show that the often binary discourse of the private and the public relates to physical and ideological space. Ideological spaces are also reproduced through the linguistic spaces the women occupy and the repression they experience through the hegemonic imposition of the Franco regime. These ideological linguistic spaces can also be spaces of exclusion for the migrant women. Finally, temporal space is created through the women's stories and the historic events they narrate. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first focuses on the women's experiences under the regime and beyond that into the transition to democracy. I wanted to explore what sort of linguistic repression was experienced, by whom and in which spaces language was repressed. How did the women's experiences of

repression and the socio-political context of the time affect their attitudes towards the language? Where did language maintenance take place and who was responsible for the preservation of Catalan? The second part of the chapter begins by looking at the younger generation, both native and migrant, and their perspectives of Catalan before concluding with an exploration of the possible changing attitudes of the women towards the language and their linguistic practices.

4.2 Stories of repression – under the regime

The interwoven nature of space can be seen in this section. Language and repression – where it was permitted and prohibited to speak Catalan and who was responsible for its maintenance – are strongly linked with physical, ideological and temporal space.

The period known as early Francoism between 1939 and 1959 is considered to be the period when Catalonia experienced the harshest repression by the regime. As previously noted, linguistic expressions not pertaining to the ideology of the nation-state were proscribed. My findings reveal many binaries in the discourse of Catalan language repression. It was forbidden in public spaces but it was spoken in the home; it was transmitted orally but there were few written sources of Catalan,[22] its proscription was felt more strongly in the urban settings, less so in rural areas where it was harder for the Francoist

[22] As already noted, the Church permitted some religious publications and there were clandestine movements that published literary journals in Catalan, however these would not have been freely available and even less so in rural areas of Catalonia (Dowling, 2013).

influence to reach. There are also contradictions and inconsistencies across and within the narratives; however, there is a common thread running through the data of a strong discourse of linguistic and cultural repression throughout the three generational groups.

4.2.1 Private and public spaces

Under Franco, Castilian was the only official language permitted in public institutions including government offices, administration, public services and education. All media outputs were state-controlled and all press, television and radio was produced in Castilian (May, 2012). The private/public dichotomy is a common theme throughout the interviews. The women who were born during the early years of the dictatorship described how their parents' or grandparents' experiences of brutal repression during the civil war and fear of reprisals would shape their behaviour both inside the domestic sphere and beyond. Nearly all the women of Catalan origin were brought up in a predominantly Catalan-speaking environment at home but they were also conscious of being cautious about what they said outside the home. Lourdes, who grew up in Barcelona, told me:

> *sempre la meva àvia i em deia sobretot no, no diguis res quan sortis de casa perquè saps que el teu oncle o el teu pare poden acabar a la presó, de tot el que es parli aquí a casa es queda aquí i i sabia ja des de petita això de què hi havien coses que no es podia dir fora de casa. A casa podíem parlar, sempre hem parlat en català.*
>
> my grandmother always told me, above all, don't say anything when you leave home because you know that your uncle or your father could end up in prison. Everything that was spoken at home, stayed at home and and I knew from being very young that there were things you couldn't say outside the house. At home we could speak, we've always spoken in Catalan (Lourdes, 61, 15/5/15).

Even inside the home there was sometimes a worry that any Catalan cultural expression could be punished. Clara explained how her family would hide any books they had in Catalan: *'no querías problemas pues los libros los ponías en la parte de atrás de la librería, por si te entraba alguien que no viera ningún libro en catalán'* (you didn't want any problems so you would put the books at the back of the bookcase, in case anyone came in so they couldn't see any Catalan books). There is however a sense of resignation and acceptance in many of the women's narratives, as Mercè recounts: *'no tenies cap remei i dèiem bueno són els de Madrid que no ens deixen, és el Franco que no ens deixa parlar el català'* (there was no other choice and we said, well, those from Madrid don't let us, it's Franco who doesn't let us speak Catalan).

The discourse of power that Castilian wielded in certain spaces is evident in their narratives. Alicia, a migrant from Asturias, worked at *Telefónica,* the national telephone company, in Barcelona. I asked her if there were problems speaking Catalan at that time. She explained:

> *er había problemas a nivel de amigos y de familia no había problema pero a nivel oficial si, por ejemplo yo lo note mucho que trabajaba en la Telefónica todas las que trabajamos en la Telefónica éramos recién llegadas no sabíamos nada de catalán, claro, todas, no creo que hubiera catalanas en la Telefónica y era un sitio muy importante.*
>
> er, there were problems not with friends and family, there weren't any problems but on an official level yes for example I noticed it a lot as I worked for the *Telefónica*. All of us who worked there were recent arrivals we didn't know any Catalan none of us. I don't think there were any Catalans working for *Telefónica* and it was a very important place (Alicia, 63, 27/10/15).

This may have only been Alicia's perception of the workforce at that time. However, during the Franco regime, when large, previously foreign-owned companies were nationalised (among them *Telefónica*, the national telephone

company and RENFE, the national rail company), their organisational culture was altered, employing managers ideologically close to the regime (Carreras & Estapé Triay, 1998) and these spaces were ideologically indexed by the language used. Thus, even if the workforce was not solely made up of Castilian speaking staff, the regime exercised their control of the language spoken in the state-owned communications company.

4.2.2 Resistance

Notwithstanding the political and institutional linguistic repression, my findings suggest that the everyday reality of speaking Catalan during the regime does not always follow the mainstream discourse of an oppressed population. The home was an autonomous space in which they were free to speak Catalan but the women I interviewed who grew up during this time recount contradictory stories of the repression they experienced outside the home. Many women's narratives, particularly those living in villages, demonstrate resistance to the power of 'the other' in public spaces as well, as recounted by Remei who was born in El Masnou at the end of the civil war:

> *de fet com a poble sempre hem parlat en català, l'única cosa que ens era prohibit, jo els 15 anys estava els caps de setmana a telèfons, per ajudar a la família* pues *estava als telèfons, i estava prohibit parlar en català a la cabina que teníem al locutori, hi havia un retol que encara ho deia, que t'estic parlant no sé, en el 55 o 56, havia de tenir 15 o 16 anys, si perquè la companya que tenia m'ajudava amb els ejercicis de morse i coses aquestes que fèiem en l'escoltisme, quan tenia una estoneta allà practicava, però nosaltres sempre hem parlat en català a nivell de casa i també de poble, sempre hem entès amb totes les persones en català ara estudiar-lo es que no.*
>
> In fact, as a village, we have always spoken in Catalan, the only thing is that we were forbidden to do so. When I was 15, I used to work at the telephones at the weekends to help out at home and it was forbidden to speak Catalan there. In the booth there was even a

> notice that said it. I'm talking about, let's see, in '55 or '56, I must have been 15 or 16 years old, yes, because my co-worker helped me with my Morse code, when we had a free moment I would practice, but we've always spoken Catalan at home and in the village as well, we've always spoken with everyone in Catalan, the only thing is we weren't able to study it (Remei, 75, 20/5/15).

An anti-Spanish stance is revealed in Remei's narrative which is constructed around an implicit opposition and resistance to 'the other', the Spanish state, with her use of the discourse marker 'in fact' and later on in the extract with the conjunction 'but'. She uses the term *'poble'* which means 'village', but it can also be used to signify 'country' or 'people'. In this way, 'village' could be construed as a metonym to make reference to the whole of Catalonia and its defiance in speaking their language. Other women also explained how they would speak in Catalan with civil servants in the local government offices if *'la persona pues fos d'aquí, jo me'n recordo i parléssim en català',* (if the person was from here, I remember we would speak in Catalan) and Catalan was spoken even in the city of Barcelona. In the mid-1950s, Agnès recounted that her family would go into Barcelona quite regularly to visit an uncle or go to the doctor and she did not remember seeing anyone being told to speak in Castilian: *'En la calle, entre la gente y tampoco me parece que los policias estaban pendientes si hablabas o no hablabas'* (in the street, between the people, I don't think the police were concerned about whether you spoke or didn't speak [Catalan]).

4.2.3 School – a subversive space

The importance of education in nation building is discussed by Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1990) and Anderson (1983) who argue that the school is an

essential place to construct the nation and teach the mother tongue. The impact of the homogenising linguistic policies imposed by the regime was most strongly felt at an educational level and schooling in Catalan was therefore one of the areas most affected. The women I interviewed primarily attended two types of school: e*scuela nacional* (national school) which was a state-run school, or religious schools, run by nuns. Co-education was abolished and Franco's National-Catholic ideology and objective to educate in the 'national spirit' was implemented (Viñao, 2004). Unquestionably, there were no school texts available in Catalan; all reading and writing were done in Castilian. This had a huge impact on the literacy of this generation, particularly their written expression. The regime also used its power to erase Catalan history or, as Agnès told me, to explain it from a totally Spanish viewpoint:

> *no se explicaba la historia de Catalonia y si se explicaba así bueno muy muy a su manera […]la guerra dels segadors pero ni la llamaban a la guerra dels segadors él no les ponían el nombre exacto así que de cosas de Cataluña nada de nada de nada.*
>
> Catalonia's history wasn't explained or it was explained very much from their point of view […] the Reapers' War,[23] they didn't even call it the Reapers' War they didn't give it that exact name so things about Catalonia nothing nothing nothing (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15).

Women living in Barcelona or the larger towns in general experienced more restrictions at school. They were castigated if they spoke Catalan in class or even in the playground and the teachers gave the classes in Castilian. Religious education and being taught by nuns was for them synonymous with the Franco regime. However, my findings show that school was also used as

[23] *La Guerra dels Segadors*, The Reapers' War (Catalan Revolt) of 1640 was a revolt by Catalan peasants against the Spanish Monarchy. *Els Segadors* (The Reapers) was made the official anthem of Catalonia in 1993, the 1899 lyrics by Emili Guanyavents were adapted from the oral tradition of the 17th century (Massot et al., 1983). However, as Prat (1991: 234) notes, the hymn was originally just a simple tune, and ethnic and symbolic connotations were attached to it until it became the Catalan 'national' anthem.

a space for language maintenance that would subvert the linguistic proscription. In Masnou and the other rural villages where some of the women were born, the teachers, including the nuns, would sometimes teach in Catalan. The women still spoke of the fear of being punished for speaking the language when periodic inspections took place. Born in 1941 in a small village in Tarragona, Clara experienced the early years of the regime. She describes the school inspector as a uniformed official: 'he looked like a policeman', a representative of the authoritarian regime. However she explains how her teacher successfully undermined the language proscription, at least orally, as they received all their classes in Catalan:

> *nosotras en el pueblo, la maestra era catalana, lo que era de leer, leerlo todo, er los libros en castellano, pero ella hacia las clases en catalán. Nosotras se nos expresábamos en catalán menos cuando sabíamos que venía el inspector entonces unos días antes nos er aleccionaba diciendo que todo aquello lo dijéramos en castellano sino a ella la la la castigaban. Entonces er solo era si venia el inspector porque nunca era una inspectora sino siempre un inspector que parecía un policía. Y entonces pues venia y las cuatro cosas que te preguntaba pues las tenías que explicar en castellano y ya esta, pero es la única cosa que hacíamos en castellano que tampoco venia cada año, venia de vez en cuando, no lo veíamos mucho. Siempre los estudios en catalán nosotras, todo.*
>
> In the village the teacher was Catalan reading, everything we read, the books were in Castilian, but she taught the classes in Catalan. We expressed ourselves in Catalan unless we knew the inspector was coming then a few days before she would tell us that we should say everything in Castilian otherwise she would be punished. So er this was only when the inspector came because it was never a female inspector always a man who looked like a policeman. And so when he came the few things he asked you had to explain in Castilian and that's it but it was the only thing we did in Castilian, and he didn't come every year anyway every now and again we didn't see him very much. We did all our studying in Catalan always *(Clara, 74, 28/4/15).*

Sílvia who attended one of the religious schools *(Escolàpies)* in Masnou had a similar experience and although the classes were in Castilian, she was never punished by the nuns for speaking Catalan. She told me: *'no vaig tenir*

problemes que anàvem a l'Escolàpies parlavem en català a dintre de l'escola però les classes sempre eren en castellà. Mai em van dir er habla español mai' (I didn't have any problem, we went to Escolàpies we spoke in Catalan inside school but the classes were in Castilian. No one ever told me to speak Spanish never).

Linguistic repression was less strict during the period known as late Francoism, from 1960 until his death in 1975. For the women in my study, though, the urban/rural divide is still noticeable. In the inland city of Manresa, Maite recounts the feeling of impotence as a young girl in the face of Castilian authority:

> es *que la meva àvia no sabia parlar en castellà pobre dona. Doncs, hi havia, me'n recordo d'una vegada que li vaig acompanyar ja que li va caducar el carnet d'identitat i la dona és que no sabia parlar en castellà, ella venia del camp, del pagès i m'acordaré sempre que el policia li va dir 'hablame en cristiano que no la entiendo' i jo em vaig quedar era joveneta i em vaig quedar, impotent, pensant perquè la tractes així, que no cal vull dir però bueno* son coses *d'aquelles que et queden. Et queda en la memòria sempre*.
>
> my grandmother didn't know how to speak in Castilian, poor woman. I remember once I went with her to renew her national identity card and she couldn't speak Castilian she was from the countryside a farm worker and I will always remember the policeman told her 'speak to me in Christian, I don't understand you' I was a young girl and I was left powerless. I thought why do you treat her like that, it's not necessary I mean but these are the things you remember, you remember them forever (Maite, 56, 8/5/15).

The term *'hablar en cristiano'*, literally 'to speak in Christian' has two meanings: to speak in plain, easily understood language, or 'to speak in Castilian' (Real Academia Española, 2016). In a context such as this one, it is always used to mean 'speak in Castilian' and here the term establishes the dominance of Castilian over Catalan and the power this exerted. Maite goes on to explain

how she experienced the Francoist National-Catholic ideology in her primary school in the mid-1960s. In contrast to other women, she offers a negative appraisal of the nuns; references to the military 'they made us line up in the playground like soldiers' and singing the *Falange*[24] anthem *Cara al Sol*[25] (Face to the Sun) creates an association between the nuns and the central Spanish state:

> *Maite: A Manresa eren nenes i es nominava les Domenicas, religioses domenicas de l'anunciata nenes i prou! Cada dia resant, cada dia cantant Cara al Sol, com et sentissin parlar en català el tenies clar i bueno i això les classes en castella*
>
> *I: i les monges no us parlaven en català?*
>
> *Maite: No, és que estava prohibit és que quan entràvem a classe ens feien formar al pati, com unes militares i quan entràvem a classe ens feien cantar el Cara al Sol. Me'n recordo si vols te'l canto! ((risa)) M'ha quedat per a la resta de mi vida!*
>
> Maite: In Manresa we were only girls it [the school] was called the Dominicans, Dominicans of the Annunciation, girls and nothing else! Every day praying, every day singing 'Face to the Sun' if they heard you speaking in Catalan you'd be for it and well the classes in Castilian
>
> I: and did the nuns speak to you in Catalan?
>
> Maite: No, it was forbidden when we went into class they made us line up in the playground like the military and when we went into class they made us sing 'Face to the Sun'. I remember it if you want I'll sing it for you ((laughs)). It's stayed with me for the rest of my life! (Maite, 56, 8/5/15).

For other women like Maite who experienced this type of language repression at school in the latter years of the dictatorship, their Catalan-ness seems to be more emphasised at home. Laia described her school as having '*una*

[24] Spanish fascist party.
[25] *Cara al Sol* (Face to the Sun) was the *Falange* anthem. During the civil war it became a symbol of Francoism and was declared the national song in 1937. During the regime, in many national schools children would sing the anthem in the playground before classes commenced (Piñeiro Otero, 2005).

mentalitat molt fortament franquista' (a very strong Francoist mentality) and that it was a 'totally Castilianised world'. Laia's negative stance towards her school and the language used there indexes her own linguistic identity. It was at home where she and her sisters had contact with written Catalan. She explained that her father had many books in Catalan and they subscribed to a monthly children's magazine, *Cavall Fort*[26] (Strong Horse) that became 'legendary […] very important at that time for my generation'.

4.3 Women's work on language maintenance – discourse and fact

As discussed in chapter two, the scholarship on gender and nation discusses how women play the principal role in preservation and transmission of language and culture (Coakley, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989). In the same way as the nation is feminised symbolically, seen as 'Mother Russia', 'La Patrie', 'Britannia' and so on, so too is the way the nation is reproduced through language, which, according to Anderson (1983), begins at the mother's knee. The domestic sphere is usually gendered a feminine space and I found examples of this in my data. Lourdes explained how her grandmother passed down Catalan songs and poetry, that she has in turn passed on to her daughters: *'ens cantava les seves cançons, ens recitava poemes, moltes endevinalles que jo l'hi passat a les meves filles*' (she sang us her songs, she recited poems, lots of riddles, that I've passed on to my daughters). However, my findings suggest that both men and women

[26] *Cavall Fort* (Strong Horse) was first published in 1962. At this time publishing in Catalan started to become easier. *Cavall Fort* was the first children's publication in Catalan since 1940 (Lluch Crespo, 1999).

contributed to maintaining and transmitting the Catalan language, culture and ideology. Maite explained that, for fear of reprisals, any books they had in Catalan at home were either burned or buried. She recalled that her father knew a lot of Catalan poetry from memory that his father had taught him and he taught the same poems to Maite:

> *tot el que va poder les va ensenyar els seus fills oralment així el meu avi al meu pare, i el meu pare ens el va ensenyar a nosaltres. Vull dir a mi. Però ja en sap molts i jo bueno han quedat trossets però vull dir que era l'única manera que pogués tenir coneixement del català, no, de la cultura* catalana*.*
>
> anyone who could would teach their children orally, my grandfather did it that way with my father and my father taught them to us I mean to me. I knew a lot well I remember bits now but it was the only way you could have any knowledge of Catalan, of Catalan culture (Maite, 56, 8/5/15).

It is interesting to explore also here which language took preference in the home and why and whether language and culture maintenance was more prominent in families of a certain class or political ideology. Of the Catalan women I interviewed who grew up during the regime, fourteen had Catalan parents and only spoke Catalan at home. Three women had parents who originated from another part of Spain and the dominant language in the home was Castilian. For all these women, their parents' first language was the language of choice for the family although as we will see, this did not always end up being the women's own language of choice. Another three of the women had one parent who was not Catalan. In these cases there was often a mixture of both languages being spoken at home, although the mother tongue did not always take precedence. The findings reveal how often fathers' political and linguistic identity exerted a strong influence on their daughters. For example, in the case of Laia, her father was Catalan and her mother was

of Catalan parents but was born in Valencia. Laia spoke to her mother in Castilian but the principal language at home was Catalan. Laia's evaluation of the family's linguistic practices indexes her Catalan identity:

> *entre el meu pare i la meva mare parlaven en castellà er es* van *conèixer en castellà perquè de fet la meva mare va aprendre de seguida quan va arribar aquí a Barcelona perquè ja era de mare catalana i així però els parlaven castellà i: i nosaltres també vam parlar castellà amb la meva mare parlàvem en castellà però a canvi amb el meu pare els meus avis els germans la resta de la família la llengua que predominava era el català o sigui però en tot cas hi havia les dues llengües a casa tot i que nosaltres, doncs els fills i tota la família ens hem identificat sempre plenament amb el català i també amb la mentalitat catalanista que tenia el meu pare i que hem seguit mantenint.*
>
> My parents spoke to each other in Castilian that's how they met. Actually my mother learned straight away [to speak Catalan] when she came to Barcelona because her mother was Catalan but they spoke in Castilian and: and we also spoke in Castilian with my mother whereas with my father, grandparents, siblings and the rest of the family the language that took precedence was Catalan so although we had both languages at home we I mean the children and all the family have always identified ourselves completely with Catalan and also with my father's *Catalanista*[27] mentality, and we maintain that mentality today (Laia, 48, 16/5/15).

Laia comes from a middle-class family. Her father worked for a Catalan bank and she explained that he was a very cultured man who took part in '*moltes activitats culturals en català i en llengua catalana'* (many activities relating to the Catalan language and culture). This was the period of the *Nova Cançó* (New Song) movement and Laia's father and older sisters attended many of the concerts in Catalan at that time. She told me she very clearly recalls a very 'anti-Francoist' environment at home. Even though her father died when she was only 12 years old, it is evident how much his political ideology influenced her even at such a young age and he was the dominant force in ensuring the

[27] A Catalanista is a person who supports the movement for Catalan autonomy, although not necessarily the sovereign movement.

continuity of Catalan in her family. Laia went on to study Catalan Philology and has spent all her life working in the area of language normalisation. Roser, from a middle-class family, was born in a small village in the province of Valencia. She had a very similar story. Her mother was from a Castilian-speaking part of Valencia and although Roser spoke Castilian with her, she spoke Catalan with her father and her three siblings. She told me:

> *en casa parlavem en catala amb el meu pare sempre[...] i les germanes sempre entre nosaltres hem parlat en catala, ens hem educat aixi en un contexto que parlaves en catala i llavors hem pujat parlant en catala.*
>
> we spoke in Catalan with my father always […] and my siblings and I always spoke Catalan, we were brought up in a Catalan-speaking context and we have grown up speaking Catalan (Roser, 50, 14/10/15).

Roser's father collaborated with the left-wing magazine, *Triunfo*[28] that clearly indexed the family's Catalanist ideology. She recalled: '*estava claríssim que érem d'esquerres i llavors sí jo era molt conscient d'això'* (it was very clear that we were left-wing, so yes, I was very conscious of that).

In contrast, Lídia's parents were both born in Barcelona but she spoke to her mother in Castilian and to her father in Catalan. She explained that although her mother spoke Catalan, in her family they had always spoken Castilian as it was *'más fino'* (more refined) than Catalan. Lídia's family background is probably upper middle-class and her mother's attitude towards Castilian was often found in the Catalan bourgeoisie at that time (and in some families still today). She went on to say that her mother was extremely religious and

[28] *Triunfo* magazine was first published in 1948 and relaunched in 1962 until 1982. It was a cultural magazine of left-wing ideology that became a symbol of intellectual resistance of the Franco regime (Alted & Aubert, 1995).

conservative which, together with her preference for Castilian, indexed her political ideology. Castilian was therefore the dominant language in her home and Lídia and her brother also spoke Castilian together. However, contrary to Laia, the dominant language at home did not influence her later on. She began speaking Catalan with her brother when she went to university and, as she put it, her 'world opened up'. She rebelled against her religion and conservative upbringing: *'allà vaig trobar gent atea clar gent d'esquerres els moviments o sigui, tot'* (there I found atheists, left-wing people, the movements, I mean, everything).

As already stated, the women in these two generations that grew up during the regime mostly came from Catalan families, and it is a fact that all of them who were brought up in a village setting spoke Catalan in the home. However, examining the linguistic choices within the mixed families, and those who were brought up in the city reveals some examples of linguistic and political ideology, more noticeably on the father's side, being an influencing factor.

Outside the home, school is another space for language preservation, as already discussed above. Most of the women's teachers in primary education during the early years of the regime were women and we have seen how they contributed to preserving Catalan. My findings also show that at a village level, cultural transmission and language maintenance took place within the church or through activities connected with the church. In the early years of the dictatorship, the regime counted on the support of the Catalan Catholic Church following the trauma they suffered at the hands of the Republicans during the

civil war.[29] As Dowling (2013) notes, elements of Catalan culture that were considered Catholic or conservative were able to avoid proscription by the regime. Later, however, the Catalan Church, that had previously followed a more liberal Catholicism, objected to the National-Catholicism imposed by Franco's regime. The religious use of the Catalan language in the Church marked the beginnings of a Catalan cultural revival and the Church became a springboard for political activity and an important player in the revival of Catalan nationalism (ibid: 61). The Catalan Scout movement, *escoltisme*, was revived through the organisation *Acción Católica* (Catholic Action) and one of the women I interviewed, Remei, explained how they were able to renew and preserve Catalanism through the scout groups:

> *a través del propi escoltisme és com vam anar descobrint la pròpia història. vam tenir moltes xarrades clandestines ens vam tancar en uns llocs precisament doncs de l'església, principalment a la muntanya de Montserrat a dintre del convent i all vam descobrir el verdader país que érem, havíem sigut i volíem de futur.*
>
> the scout movement is how we discovered our own history. We had lots of clandestine talks we would hide in religious spaces mainly in the Montserrat mountain inside the convent and there we discovered the real country that we were, the one we had been and the one we wanted for the future (Remei, 75, 20/5/15).

Under the guise of the scouts, the girls were able to discover the history that was missing from the classroom. Remei went on to found the Girl Scout group in El Masnou and through the group she was able to express her political ideology and her Catalanism. Similarly, Josepa, who was born at the beginning of the civil war, told me it was thanks to the parish church centre in Masnou

[29] During the civil war, the Republicans associated the Catholic Church with Franco's Nationalists and carried out devastating attacks on the Church: more than 4000 churches were destroyed in Catalonia along with the assassination of more than 2000 members of religious orders (Dowling, 2013). In 1936 the Church of San Pere (St Peter) in Masnou was one of the casualties; it was looted, set fire to and practically demolished. A total of 29 people associated with the Catholic Church were assassinated (Calls & Tarragó, 2011).

that she read well in Catalan. They would put on plays in Catalan and through learning her lines, she learned to read in Catalan. Not all the women of this age group had this access to written Catalan; Sílvia explained how she had to learn to read in Catalan by reading with her children. Although she tries to write more in Catalan now, having studied in Castilian, even today if she sees something written in the two languages *'primer m'ho llegeixo en castellà i després m'ho llegeixo en català, i així se el que diu! '* (first I read it in Castilian and then in Catalan, that way I know what it says!).

4.4 The Transition and beyond – rebuilding, linguistic normalisation and residual repression

In this section, the physical, ideological and temporal spaces continue to be reproduced through language and repression. However, the women's narratives also reveal how the linguistic spaces shift and expand to create new physical and ideological spaces that can be perceived as exclusive by some of the women.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the years leading up to Franco's death saw a weakening in the proscription of the language and by this time some Catalan was beginning to be brought into education; women spoke of Catalan as a language subject being offered as an optional module at university. For the older group of women I interviewed by this time they had long left school and it was too late for them to benefit. They spoke of their frustration and the difficulties they experienced by not being able to write in Catalan and how they

overcame these obstacles. As seen in the previous section, connections with the church enabled Josepa to have contact with written Catalan, but, like Sílvia, she expresses her frustration even today for not having been taught in Catalan at school. She told me that if her grandchildren ask her anything about maths or multiplication, she is unable to help them in Catalan and has to answer them in Castilian as she learned her times tables in that language. Josepa told me she had always loved children and after she married and had her own children, she opened the first nursery in Masnou in 1967. She explained how all the women there worked together to try and improve their written expression in Catalan:

> *vaig obrir la primera guarderia que hi havia al Masnou i vam començar er sobre el telèfon hi havia una llibreta amb notes i dèiem escrivim tot en català la que llegeixi que hi ha alguna falta doncs corregeixi i així de mica en mica perquè les noies que estaven amb mi doncs tampoc havien tingut aquests coneixements del català.*
>
> I opened the first nursery in Masnou and we started er above the telephone there was a notebook and we said we would write everything in Catalan and whoever read it and found a mistake would correct it and like that bit by bit because the girls who were with me didn't have any notions of Catalan either (Josepa, 79, 2/11/15).

Dolors was born 20 years later but she also suffered from lack of schooling in Catalan. She told me how she began writing in Catalan as a sort of militancy and describes the damage done by the dictatorship:

> *Per la meva generació el català ha sigut autodidàctic o sigui hem après el català començant a llegir i després atrevint-nos a escriure [...] es creia normal que haguis una llengua d'ús familiar i després una llengua* er *de l'ús escolar. O sigui, això, es veia com una er normalitat. Això clar és realment el que va aconseguir doncs la dictadura. Er després er quan es fa el salt que la llengua materna sobrepassi el marc familiar o de relacions més properes i es estableixis com una llengua per escriure no sé que això comporta moltes dificultats i ens va costar molt la meva generació poder realment escriure en català va ser un esforç molt gran.*

> For my generation Catalan was self-taught I mean first we learned Catalan through reading and later by daring to write [...] It was considered normal that there was a language to use in the family setting and then another language in the school setting. So that was seen as normal. That is what the dictatorship really managed to do. Er later er when we made the jump and the mother tongue went beyond the family environment or more intimate relationships and became the language to write in that brought a lot of difficulties and my generation found it very difficult to really write in Catalan it was a very great effort (Dolors, 60, 21/5/15).

Not being able to write in Catalan – *'la nostra llengua'* (our language) – holds great importance to this generation of women and also to the next generation, who only experienced Catalan at school at the very end of their education. Some of the women, particularly those who went into teaching or who took up jobs in the public sector, had to undertake a *'reciclatge'* (recycling) of the language to attain level C[30] which is the level required to work in public institutions in Catalonia. The effects of the financial crisis have been an impetus to study Catalan today; a number of women I interviewed had lost their jobs and were now taking the opportunity to study the language. The way some women talk about this clearly conveys a sense of having 'lost out'. As one women said: *'Estic ara fent clases de català qu'ens com lo hem tingut sempre prohibit doncs ara és el moment que tinc temps'* (I'm doing Catalan classes now as it's something that has always been forbidden and now I have time). Another woman described their generation as *'la generació estafada'* – the cheated generation - linguistically and culturally.

[30] Level C represents proficient user level in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, n.d.).

The women talk of renewal and hope during the transition to democracy, but a discourse of fear and the perception of residual repression is still evident. People were still uneasy about expressing their political opinions or their Catalan-ness. For example, Agnès explained about teaching her young son the *'Cant de la Senyera'* (Song of the Senyera),[31] a choral composition composed expressly as an anthem for the *Orfeó Català*, the Catalan Choral Society, based on a poem by the 19th century Catalan poet, Joan Maragall. She said:

> *Y cuando era pequeño eso era antes de la muerte de Franco o después no sé aún no había la democracia y yo le enseñaba el Cant de la Senyera (canta) Catalonia triumfa ((risa)). Y el niño se la sabía mucho y la cantaba y ((risa)) venia aquí a comprar o no sé qué y el niño 'Catalonia triumfant...' y también solo lo hacía callar ((risa)) por lo tanto el miedo, sí, mi marido le decía al niño 'cállate' quiere decir de que Franco debía de estar muerte, pero eso debía ser en la época de la transición y en esa época la gente todavía tenía miedo. […] la transición estábamos contentos pero lo demostraba poca gente. Si lo decías con pequeños comités pero aquellos de expresarlo en voz alta hasta que no se hizo la democracia las votaciones y todo eso el miedo continuaba.*
>
> And when he was small this was before Franco died or after I'm not sure but there still wasn't democracy I taught him the 'Song of the Senyera' (she starts singing it: 'Catalonia triumphs' ((laughs))) and my son knew it well and sang it when we went shopping or something ((laughs)) and I told him to be quiet ((laughs)), so the fear yes my husband told him to be quiet. Franco must have been dead but it must have been during the transition and at that time people were still frightened. We were happy but few people showed it. You would talk about it in more intimate circles but to express it out loud until the democracy the votes and all that the fear continued it continued (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15).

[31] *El Cant de la Senyera* (The Song of the Senyera) was written by the Catalan poet, Joan Maragall as a homage to the Catalan flag (*la senyera*), it was put to music by Lluis Millet, founder of the *Orfeó Català* (Catalan Choral Society). The song was used as a political statement during the centenary celebrations of Joan Maragall in 1960. A concert was authorised at the *Palau de la Música Catalana* (Catalan Music Palace) which was attended by some of Franco's ministers, however a programmed performance of the song was blocked (Dowling, 2013). Instead, the audience sang the song which led to the arrest of a number of people, including Jordi Pujol (president of Catalonia from 1980-2003) who was severely beaten by the police during interrogation (Pujol, 2006).

This is an example of the role of women in the transmission of culture and how, despite the fear of recrimination, Agnès subverted the regime's oppression by teaching her son a song that was a homage to the Catalan national flag and was deeply symbolic of Catalonia and explicitly indexes Agnès' Catalanism.

4.4.1 Re-establishing the language

As previously noted in chapter one, 95% of the Catalan population today claim an understanding of the language. Depending on their work and social network, many people will only speak Catalan in their daily interactions, however one of the characteristics of Catalans is their capacity to speak two languages in one environment. Although it may seem strange to many outsiders, it is very normal to be in a group conversation and some people will be speaking Catalan whilst others will speak Castilian, a practice known as 'passive bilingualism' (Pujolar, 2001). As a rule, people are accustomed to speaking in one language to a particular person. This will usually depend either on their linguistic background or will be influenced by which language they initially began speaking when they first meet. Therefore, it is possible to find couples in Catalonia first meeting in Castilian and continuing to speak in Castilian even though they may both be native Catalan speakers,[32] or the reverse, i.e. Castilian speakers meeting and speaking first in Catalan to each other. In family situations, mixed Catalan/Castilian parents may choose to

[32] Pujolar & González (2013: 145) note that this would only happen in exceptional situations and would normally be rectified, indicating the persistant notion of the 'ethno-national paradigm'.

speak both languages to their children (i.e. the native tongue of either parent), or just one language, which could be either Catalan or Castilian depending on the origins of the parents. A very habitual practice of Catalans is to change language to accommodate a non-Catalan speaker and this practice, which will be discussed later on in the chapter, has been termed the 'accommodation norm' (Woolard, 1989).

Following the first democratic elections in 1980, one of the immediate priorities of the *Generalitat* (Catalan Government) was to reinstate Catalan as the vehicular language. The *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation) was passed in 1983 and Catalan became the main language of instruction in primary education, administration and the media. Vallverdú (1980) notes that the term 'normalisation' was taken from the engineer-turned-linguist Pompeu Fabra, who wrote the first Catalan dictionary in the early 20th century and standardised Catalan grammar. However its meaning was extrapolated not only to mean 'establish a norm', or standardisation, but also to mean 'normal', as in the normal language to speak. The campaign surrounding the new policy introduced a girl called *Norma* (also meaning 'standard' or 'norm' in Catalan).[33] She was depicted speaking Catalan to Castilian speakers, correcting mistakes and creating the idea of a collective identity although the campaign was criticised somewhat for its proscriptive nature in trying to promote a pure and correct Catalan (Newman & Trenchs Parera, 2015). One of the aims of the policy was to use the

[33] Although the grammatical gender of 'language' in Catalan is feminine (*la llengua*) and thus an obvious personification of it is a woman, the campaign choice of using a girl also has the effect of feminising the Catalan language.

language to try and integrate and instil a collective identity into the population that, by 1975 in Barcelona province alone, was made up of 39% of internal migrants that had been arriving since the 1960s from other parts of Spain (Conversi, 2002).

4.4.2 Complex forms of othering – the Castilian 'underclasses'

Whereas it has been shown how the discourses of fear and power established the dominant position of Castilian over Catalan and thus the dominance of 'the other' - the Spanish state - complex forms of othering emerge when discussing internal migration from other parts of Spain. Immigration as a theme will be discussed in detail in chapter five, and this section will briefly examine the national migrants as a linguistically split group. As already mentioned, Catalonia, a relatively more urbanised, industrialised and prosperous region, experienced a huge influx of national migrants during the 1960s from rural and poorer areas of Spain such as Extremadura, Murcia and Andalucía. Most of the migrants were low-skilled and uneducated and took on unskilled, manual labour which led to a marked socioeconomic division between migrants and native Catalans (Linz, 1975). The high level of internal migration and the potential for a split society was a major concern for the preservation of the Catalan language and identity and the process of linguistic normalisation attempted to promote linguistic integration and engender an inclusive Catalan national identity.

During this period, the population of El Masnou increased by 40% (Calls & Tarragó, 2011). The older women I interviewed who came from other parts of

Spain as children did not learn Catalan at school nor did they have a Catalan environment at home as all the family, as well as most of their neighbours, spoke Castilian. Although all these women claim to understand Catalan, some both written and spoken, only one of them speaks Catalan fluently, and speaks to her children in Catalan. The rest speak to their children in Castilian and all but one married a fellow Castilian speaker. Some of the migrant women I spoke to did attend Catalan classes, and one remembered the *Norma* campaign with affection:

> *para mí fue muy guapo la normalización de la lengua […] lo que hubo más fue una gran campaña publicitaria de una niña que se llamaba Norma que era la Norma y era la norma lingüística y lo hicieron muy lo hicieron muy bien muy bien y yo al poco tiempo de llegar aquí er me apunte pero el único sitio donde podía yo estudiar catalán era er en el colegio mixto de Ocata que la asociación de padres pues hacían cursos de catalán para gente que no sabíamos nada y después estudie catalán que ya era cuando ya habían hecho la normalización y había del ayuntamiento y había una profesora de catalán, un consorcio catalán o algo así.*
>
> for me it was really nice the normalisation of the language […] the biggest thing was a great publicity campaign of a girl called Norma, she was the linguistic norm and they did it very they did it very well very well and not long after I came here I enrolled but the only place I could study Catalan was in the Ocata school, the parents association did a Catalan course for those of us who knew nothing and later I studied Catalan after the normalisation through the town hall and there was a Catalan teacher, a Catalan consortium or something like that (Alicia, 63, 27/10/15).

Nevertheless, despite learning Catalan, Alicia continues to communicate with everyone in Castilian. The women attributed two key factors to their lack of fluency in Catalan. Firstly, some women stated they feel embarrassed to speak it, for example, Adelina, a migrant from Ávila, explains: '*pero la verdad es que no me he puesto nunca, no, y a lo mejor lo hablo, no? Pero como si me diera vergüenza!'* (the truth is I have never tried, no, and maybe I could speak it ok, no? But it's as though I'm embarrassed to speak it!). Another Catalan women

told me her mother, a migrant from Alicante, was also embarrassed to speak in Catalan. Manuela, who came here as a young girl from Andalucía, runs a haberdashery shop and tells a similar story:

> *Yo muchas veces viene alguien un catalán y me pide algo y me digo ahora voy a hablar en català cuando me giro que a lo mejor esto- no puedo no no no entonces ya yo mismo me corto entonces no hablo catalán. Con los niños, digo si lo hablo mal como son pequeños no se enteran ((risa)) entonces no se enteran ((risa)) si digo algo mal!*
>
> Many times, if someone comes in [to the shop] a Catalan and asks me for something I say to myself I'm going to speak Catalan, but when I turn round – I can't no no no I lose my nerve and don't speak Catalan. With the kids I think if I speak it badly they're little and they won't notice ((laughs)) so they don't notice if I say something wrong! (Manuela, 57, 22/10/15)

These women live in a predominantly Castilian neighbourhood of the village, speak Castilian in their work and with their families and have very little contact with Catalan on a daily basis. When moving into a Catalan-speaking context, they are afraid of making a mistake and being laughed at and there is a sense that the women know they are not part of the 'in-group' of native Catalans, however they feel their 'otherness' would be even more marked if they tried to speak the language. In fact, as I show in chapter five, as an attempt to integrate the Castilian-speaking migrants the Catalan government called them the *'nous catalans'* (new Catalans) (Carod Rovira, 2003). However, this effectively resulted in the creation of two categories: 'old' (native and authentic) Catalan speakers and 'new' (non-native and inauthentic) speakers.

The second reason given for not speaking the language is that they blame the Catalans for always switching to Castilian with a non-Catalan. This was highlighted by Alicia, from north-west Spain who is married to a Catalan:

> *Ese es el problema de los catalanes que no te hablan en catalán y entonces tú como si no tienes una vida social que que te obligue a ello y te relaciones aunque sea con catalanes no puedes hablar en catalán porque porque no te dejan. Porque yo a veces hubo una temporada yo he estudiado y que yo quería hablar en catalán y me ponía a hablar catalán y cuando me daba cuenta me están hablando er yo hablaba catalán con un esfuerzo y ellos me hablaban en castellano.*
>
> That's the problem with the Catalans they don't speak to you in Catalan and so if you don't have a social life that obliges you to speak and you even mix with Catalans you can't speak it because because they don't let you. There was a time when I had studied and I wanted to speak Catalan, but when I tried and made the effort they spoke to me in Castilian (Alicia, 63, 27/10/15).

In other words they have never been put in a position where they have been obliged to speak it. In this way any agency (or responsibility) to speak the language is taken away from them. These early migrant women were therefore linguistically, and often as previously mentioned, physically separated from the native Catalans and thus this led to the creation of linguistic and cultural spaces. The language of integration was Catalan and the lack of integration continued by not speaking it with the migrants.

Many of the Catalan women I spoke to, however, also problematise the practice of changing languages and blamed themselves for switching to Castilian in the past. This is a common practice in Catalonia and is what Woolard (1989: 69) terms as the 'accommodation norm' where Catalans will switch to Castilian when speaking to non-natives. There are of course exceptions to this practice. An example from my findings is Agnès, a native Catalan who met her Andalusian husband at university. When they met she was very clear she wanted to speak to him in Catalan and he spoke to her in Castilian, and they have continued like this for nearly 40 years. She told me

that she was not going to change her way of talking and she did not want him to either, they understood each other and both had the right to speak in their own language. As noted earlier, Pujolar (2001) labels this as 'passive bilingualism',[34] where no switch is made and each continues in their own language. A change in attitudes towards the practice of accommodation will be discussed in the next section.

4.5 Intersections of age and migration – changing attitudes – renewed repression?

This section of the chapter examines how the attitudes to Catalan as a language may have changed over the three generations of women I interviewed, and also how the older women's stances towards language use may have evolved over the last five decades. In order to do this it is necessary to look at the present-day complexities of the Catalan language situation. In this final section, new ideological and physical linguistic spaces can be perceived as a result of renewed tensions with the central Spanish government and changing attitudes towards migrants.

The political aim to reinstate Catalan as the official language in Catalonia had been achieved in the early years of the transition to democracy. Nevertheless, following a decade of high levels of migration into Catalonia from 1995, language planners began to look at policies that would encompass the

[34] The practice of passive bilingualism is of course possible in the case of Catalan and Castilian as the languages are closely related. This would not be an option for two languages that are substantially different, such as the Basque language.

multilingual nature of the region whilst promoting Catalan as the main language for social cohesion. Thus the *Pla per la Llengua i la Cohesió Social* (Plan for Language and Social Cohesion) was introduced in 2004 (Trenchs Parera & Newman, 2015). The Plan builds on the 1993 Normalisation law by prioritising social integration and linguistic immersion and focuses more on the language as a reflection of a civic rather than an ethnonationalist identity (Pujolar & González, 2013).

However, interference of Castilian is still considered a problem. The legacy of the Francoist ideology of 'one state-one language' still lingers and tensions between the Catalan and Spanish governments over language policies is an ongoing issue. For many years there have been accusations from different Spanish governments and also Castilian-speaking intellectuals inside Catalonia about the side-lining of Castilian in the region (Woolard, 2016). In the new millennium, there was a change in Castilian discourse by central government institutions. They began referring to it as a post-national language in an attempt to turn it into the 'common language' for all, an anonymous language 'from nowhere' (ibid.: 50). Further, more and more the term 'Castilian' was being substituted with 'Spanish' in an attempt to enhance its international value in competition with English. This discourse was considered by some to be a criticism of Spain's minority languages; as one scholar wrote, presenting Spanish in this way reduced 'Catalan, Galician and Basque to atavistic and reactionary particularism' (del Valle, 2005: 411 cited in Woolard, 2016: 54).

This antagonism continues. In May 2015, the then Spanish education minister, José Ignacio Wert[35] tried to suspend the new school enrolment in Catalonia as the enrolment form did not include a box for parents to tick if they wanted their child to be educated in Castilian. It was also proposed, for the first time, that Castilian make up 25% of the school day as the 'bare minimum' needed to ensure it as the *lingua franca* (Baquero, 2015). As far as the Catalans were concerned, this was yet another provocation. Wert was already an extremely controversial figure, having presented the *Ley orgánica para la mejora de la calidad educativa* (Legislation for educational reform - LOMCE). Dubbed the *Ley Wert* (Wert Law), and despite being opposed by all the opposition political parties, it was pushed through parliament by the governing party, PP, using their overall majority in the senate. When the new reforms were first presented in 2012, Wert said in a parliamentary debate that it was the Spanish Education Department's intention to *'españolizar a los niños catalanes'* or Hispanicise Catalan children (Sanz, 2012). Although Wert later admitted his comment had been a mistake, the discourse reflects the centralist language planning of the 18th century and, as already noted above, the efforts of the Francoist regime to create a monolingual nation. Among other things, the new law was criticised as a move to remove the decision-making powers from regional governments and centralise the curricula, reintroduce religious education as a compulsory subject and provide economical support for families who chose a Castilian-based education in regions where two languages were co-official. The planned reforms provoked student and teachers strikes and demonstrations throughout

[35] As of June 2015, in preparation for the upcoming general elections of December 2015, unpopular Wert was replaced as Education Minister by Íñigo Méndez de Vigo.

Spain, being particularly strong in Catalonia (ibid.). When examining women's present-day perspectives it is therefore important to take into consideration the current dominant discourses surrounding language repression and the central state government's actions.

This section will begin by looking at the younger generation of women, their language use and attitude to language. It will then compare this with the two older groups of women and also examine if the latter groups' language perspectives have changed.

4.5.1 The Younger Generation

Seven of the younger women in my study, aged between 22 and 34 years old, were born in Catalonia, three of them are from other parts of Spain, all recent arrivals and four are international migrants, three from Morocco and one from Columbia. All the women born in Catalonia were schooled in Catalan. Four of the young Catalan women, aged 22 or 23, formed the focus group I conducted. The other three are 30 or 31 years old.

Beginning with the Catalan-born women, when I asked about their families, with the exception of two, they have native Catalan parents and speak Catalan at home. As the following extracts show, the stance the women take towards their linguistic practices discursively indexes their identity. The importance of a long Catalan ancestry was evident in the way they all detailed where each of their grandparents were from, in the same way as the older women had done. One of the women from the focus group told me:

jo parlo en català tota la meva família parla en català els meus avis er *tots són d'aquí menys el pare de la meva mare que és de A Corunya de Galícia però totes de més són d'aquí i parlem en català.*

I speak in Catalan all my family speak in Catalan my grandparents are all from here except my mother's father who is from A Coruña in Galicia but all the rest are from here and and we speak in Catalan (Alba, 23, 1/11/15).

So although one of her grandparents was not of Catalan origin, Alba was quick to qualify that the rest were and all spoke in Catalan. Being *'de tota la vida'* (life-long residents) of Masnou, or nearby villages was a phrase used many times by this younger generation and seems to be a way of indexing their authentic Catalan-ness and highlights Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) tactic of authentication. The strong stance taken in defence of nativism was apparent when I asked what language was spoken at home, thirty-one year old Mireia replied: '*Català sempre*. *Vull dir no tenim cap part de la família- tots som del Masnou i Teià.*[36] *La meva mare de Teià de tota la vida i el meu pare del Masnou'* (Catalan always. I mean we don't have any part of the family- we're all from Masnou and Teià. My mother is a life-long resident of Teià and my father from Masnou). Having no part of her family coming from outside Catalonia, or indeed the county of El Maresme, somehow emphasises and legitimises her Catalan-ness. In direct contrast to Mireia, one of the women from the focus group who does not have Catalan roots and speaks Castilian at home, described her parents as being *'de fora'* - 'from outside', meaning from outside Catalonia:

jo parlo en castellà a casa perquè els meus pares són de fora la meva mare és de Soria i el meu pare de Sevilla i llavors es van conèixer a Barcelona, pero jo amb la meva família parlo en castellà amb la meva germana petita parlo en català però en família tots parlem en castellà.

[36] Teià is a small village in El Maresme county, next to El Masnou.

> I speak in Castilian at home because my parents are from outside [Catalonia] my mother is from Soria and my father from Sevilla and they met in Barcelona, but with my family I speak in Castilian with my little sister I speak in Catalan but as a family we all speak Castilian (Gemma, 23, 1/11/15)

Depending on how this term is used, *'de fora'* can have derogatory connotations, denoting a foreigner as someone 'not from here'. Although it is not meant in this way here, it is such a commonly used, *naturalised*, expression that it unconsciously creates a discourse of othering. By employing this terminology, Gemma can be seen to use the partialness principle whereby no identity can be constructed independent from wider ideological processes, even if this is unconscious (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In this way, the construction of an 'other' identity is based on ideologies of who can claim membership of the Catalan in-group.

When I asked them about the importance of the language, overall there was a general consensus in the focus group that both languages were important, either because one was more useful in the outside world or because speaking the two made it easier to understand other languages, such as Italian and French*: 'és mes fàcil entendre's que si només parlessis un idioma*' (it's easier to understand [other languages] than if you only speak the one language). However, there were some mixed opinions. The two different stances taken by the young women could be considered a reflection of their upbringing. Gemma, perhaps because her parents are not native Catalans, takes a pragmatic approach and clearly values Castilian as much as Catalan:

> *Doncs jo jo no, no té l'importància el català de el que ha dit o sigui perquè és un idioma que exclusivament es parla aquí i la veritat i que em sento afortunada de poder parlar-lo i escriure'l però tot i així jo*

> *dono molta importància també a l'espanyol perquè penso que per anar al món o sigui er és necessari m'entens és necessari o sigui dono la mateixa importància saber el català que castellà.*
>
> well no, no, Catalan isn't so important because it is a language that is only spoken here and the truth is although I feel fortunate to be able to speak and write it I give a lot of importance as well to Spanish because I think it is a necessary language to have going out into the world you see it's necessary. So I put the same importance to knowing Catalan as Castilian (Gemma, 23, 1/11/15).

Conversely, Alba's parents are both native Catalans and she viewed the exclusivity of the language as something to be proud of:

> *és una cosa que és molt er especial de dir que només ho parlem els catalans, no? Però i a més és algo també que és lluitada hi ha hagut er fa molt de temps que estava prohibit parlar en català i només es parlava a casa a l'escola no es podía.*
>
> its something that is very er special to say that only us Catalans speak it, no? But also, it's something that was fought for, a long time ago it was forbidden to speak Catalan and it was only spoken in the home, you couldn't speak it at school (Alba, 23, 1/11/15).

Alba's comment 'only us, the Catalans, speak it' as she distinguishes the Catalans as different and draws a symbolic boundary between the Catalans and 'the other'; the language thus identifies membership of the group and her discourse reflects authentication tactics as she draws on nativism as a resource to authenticate her Catalan-ness. By referring to the language as something that was fought for and its prohibition points to the Spanish 'other' and reproduces the older women's discourse of repression and that of the mainstream media. However, for another woman, Bibiana, the narratives of repression weigh heavily on her present-day life. Bibiana comes from an Andalusian family, she was born in El Masnou and schooled in Catalan. Even though she speaks Catalan with her husband and her son, by her own admission she feels more comfortable speaking in Castilian. She has serious problems with her husband's grandmother, who gets very angry with her if she

hears her speaking Castilian. The situation is so bad that Bibiana tries to avoid the grandmother whenever she can:

> *es horroroso es que es horroroso pero según ella tiene una explicación y es que el franquismo ella no pudo hablar su idioma le obligaban hablar el castellano entonces esto lo tiene ella como como muy arraigado, no, o como como er lo tiene como es rabia entonces, por eso ahora ella se comporta así, porque en su época ella no pudo hablar su idioma, le imponían el no hablarlo […] es que, es que, claro ella me dice que por ejemplo iba, iba por la calle, con sus padres y ella pues la hablaban en castellano y ella contesto en catalán y le decían shhh, entonces claro ella lo tiene como como muy como odio, no, a eso entonces el castellano para ella, pues claro supongo que le debe recordar todo todo lo que paso pero vamos que yo no tengo la culpa, es decir bueno es mi idioma, no. Pero es muy dictatorial en este tema ella, eh.*
>
> it's horrendous it's just horrendous but according to her it has an explanation and that is that during the regime she couldn't speak her language they forced her to speak Castilian so it's something that is very ingrained, no? And it's as if she bears a grudge that's why now she behaves like this because at that time she couldn't speak her language they prohibited her speaking it [...] it's just that well she tells me that she would be on the street with her parents they would speak to her in Castilian and she would reply in Catalan and they told her to be quiet shhh so of course she has this sort of hatred Castilian for her is, I suppose it must remind her of all that happened but let's see it's not my fault I mean it's my language, no? But she is very dictatorial on this subject (Bibiana, 30, 21/10/15).

The memories of the regime and the linguistic repression she suffered are clearly very strong for the grandmother. Today, Bibiana rejects the same imposition of speaking Catalan, which she labels 'her language' (the grandmother's) and resists the repression of Castilian or 'my language'. This labelling and her choice of 'dictatorial' draws an interesting analogy between the grandmother's stance and the dictator.

The younger women who live in a predominantly Catalan environment commented that they often felt embarrassed to speak in Castilian, either because they feel they do not express themselves very well in Castilian or

because of their accent. For example, Paula says: '*és lo que passa quan parlem català sempre, quan parlem castellà* es nota un accent' (this is what happens when we speak Catalan all the time, when we speak Castilian the accent is obvious), Alba adds: '*l'accent 'és horrible!'* (the accent is horrible!). Estel agrees:

> *em sento més segura parlant en català i* m'*expresso millor i (.) el castellà sí que ho puc parlar però l'accent que faig! ((risa)) i a vegades dic unes paraules faré alguna catalanada!*
>
> I feel more confident speaking in Catalan and I express myself better and (.) Castilian, yes I can speak it but my accent! ((laughs)) and sometimes I say certain words, I come out with a *'catalanada'*! (make a catalan version of a word) (Estel, 22, 1/11/15).

This echoes the sentiments of the older Castilian women, who feel embarrassed to speak in Catalan for fear of making a mistake or using the wrong word. Estel repeats her lack of confidence later in the conversation:

> a *vegades si parles amb algú que parla castellà i que que ((risa)) o sigui si parlo (xxx) en castellà no passa res però si parlo amb algú que realment el parla i notes l'accent, no sé a mi em passa això. Em passava amb bueno amb el meu nóvio, ell és castellà i la seva família parla castellà i jo quan em dirigeixo a la seva família parlo castellà i amb ell català. Er no* és *que però em sento com bueno no em sento segura, no, doncs a vegades em tallo jo mateixa [...] no, però a vegades no dic que també podia dir per a no er saps? No* sé*. Pero no* sé *perquè potser perquè em fa vergonya a vegades.*
>
> sometimes if you speak to someone who speaks Castilian and that ((laughs)), I mean it's not a problem if I speak (xxx) Castilian but if I speak to someone who really speaks it you notice the accent I don't know, that's what happens to me. It happens with – well with my boyfriend, he is Castilian and he speaks Castilian with his family and when I talk to them I speak in Castilian and in Catalan with him. It's not that er I feel well I don't feel so confident, no? So sometimes I lose my nerve. I don't know I don't know why perhaps because sometimes I feel embarrassed (Estel, 22, 1/11/15).

We can see a change here in the negotiation of power relations between Catalan and Castilian and despite most Catalans' facility to switch easily between the two languages, Estel's comments suggests a degree of

discomfort entering into a linguistic space where Catalan is not the dominant language. It is interesting to note how Estel describes her boyfriend as 'Castilian', therefore labelling him as the 'other'. Even though he was born in Catalonia and speaks Catalan, she puts him in the same category as his parents, who are not from Catalonia.

4.5.2 National migrants

Of the younger women I interviewed, there were three who have come to Catalonia from other parts of Spain; two from Andalucía and one from Madrid. Two of the woman had been living in Masnou for about one year and the other only a few months. All three of them have moved there to be with their Catalan partners. One of the women, Ana, lived in Masnou for six years when she was a child due to her father's work. She remembered a very happy childhood in Masnou, playing in the streets with her friends. She learned Catalan and explained that when she went back to Madrid she wrote the first exam she sat in her new school in Catalan without even realising. However, she went on to say that her reintroduction to Catalan has not quite been the same:

> *y me vine para acá el 14 de julio. Y: nada, mi trato con el catalán er pues ahora peor o sea después de mi vuelta claro, ha sido ha sido peor entre comillas porque (.) porque me da mucha rabia que por un lado entiendo pero me da mucha rabia yo siendo maestra no puedo trabajar no puedo ejercer como maestra sin sin tener catalán.*
>
> and I came here on 14th July. And:, well my dealings with Catalan er well now it's worse I mean since I came back well it's been it's been "worse" in inverted commas (.) because it makes me very angry, on one side I understand but it makes me really angry as a teacher I can't work I can't work as a teacher without without having Catalan (Ana, 30, 15/5/15).

So, although Ana has fond memories of living in Masnou and speaking Catalan as a child, has a Catalan boyfriend and understands Catalan, her narrative reveals her frustration at not being able to find work or having restricted access to a space where language competency is fundamental. Her feeling of exclusion from the labour market sharply contrasts with her sense of inclusivity as a child. She stressed that she tries to see things from both sides but said she would like to see a bit more of a balance between the two languages in education and explained how some of her Catalan friends *'didn't learn how to express themselves in Castilian until they left Catalonia to go to Argentina'*, for example. It is evident that these younger Spanish migrant women are sensitive to the historical context of the language and its suppression. Claudia, from Andalucía, strongly aligns herself with the Catalans and distances herself from the stereotypical prejudices towards them:

> *soy filóloga y (.) y (.) siempre he sido muy sensible con el tema de lo- el tema de lengua co-oficial y de ideología política er contexto histórico erm: no: he tenido al menos he procurado no tener la típica opinión simplista que los medios de comunicación pretende inculcar a la sociedad sino que siempre cuando ha habido una discusión es que los catalanes bla bla bla bueno a ver es una lengua y como y hay que defenderla porque es una comunicación o sea no pueda reprimir a una persona su modo de comunicación es lo peor que le puede hacer a una persona. Es como si me cortara la lengua er la lengua física entonces (.) er cuando yo escucho la gente con esa catalanofobia es como no tenéis ni idea de nada tenéis que estar aquí para daros cuenta de que es realmente claro el tema.*
>
> I'm a philologist and (.) and (.) I have always been sensitive to the subject of the co-official language and the political ideology er historical context erm: at least I have tried not to have the typical simplistic opinion that the media try to inculcate in society instead when there has been a discussion 'it's just that the Catalans, bla bla bla' well I mean it's a language and therefore it has to be defended because it's a form or communication you can't repress a person's mode of communication it's the worst thing you can do to a person. It would be like cutting out my tongue so (.) when I hear people with this Catalan-phobia I'm like you've no idea about anything you need to be here to really understand this issue (Claudia, 27, 20/10/15).

Whilst these women are voicing their desire to understand the Catalan situation, at the same time though, they also express a need for some empathy from the native Catalans for the people who do not understand their language. This tension is clearly seen when Claudia's attempts to empathise in the above example are contrasted with a recent experience when she was introduced to a young woman in her early twenties who asked her if she spoke Catalan because 'I don't speak Castilian well':

> *no me presenta una persona sabiendo que es de fuera y no les pregunto si sabe hablar catalán que obviamente claro que no sabe hablar catalán o si sabe sabe muy poquito o lo está aprendiendo pero a mi aquello fue como uf que mal no? Y me hablaba en catalán sabiendo que yo no sabía y me sentía en esa ocasión es cuando me siento muy mal como me importa un carajo si me entienda o no me entienda mi ego como catalán o como catalana va más allá que tú me entiendas o no me entiendas y joder no sé es un poco- allí si es que me sale cierto perjuicio y no me gusta, y me siento muy culpable pero me sale el perjuicio y me da rabia porque como joder!*
>
> If I'm introduced to someone who I know isn't from here I don't ask them if they know Catalan obviously they won't speak it or will know a little or be learning it but what she said I thought uf that's bad. And she spoke to me in Catalan knowing that I didn't speak it and on that occasion I felt really bad, it was like 'I couldn't care less if she understands me or not, my Catalan ego goes deeper than whether you understand me or not', I don't know it's a bit- this is when I feel a certain prejudice and I don't like it I feel guilty about that but I do feel prejudice and it makes me angry because it's like - fuck! (Claudia, 27, 20/10/15).

These two extracts are striking in how the two stances Claudia takes contradict each other. As a philologist, Claudia seems to want to convey her understanding of language and considers it a crime to try and suppress a person's linguistic expression yet when she experiences this first-hand in the real world, she takes a different stance and her prejudice surfaces when the other girl makes her feel like an outsider by speaking to her in Catalan. Claudia's experience also contradicts the earlier comments about the natives

switching languages when addressing a non-Catalan speaker and perhaps reflects a change in the Catalans tolerance towards the Castilian language.

4.5.3 International migrants

The four international migrants I interviewed from this age group have all been living in Catalonia for many years. Their attitudes towards Catalan in the main come from a pragmatic perspective. Gabriela is from Colombia and came to Catalonia when she was 16 years old. She spent many years living and working in different parts of the region before settling in El Masnou a year ago. She explained that she arrived in Catalonia having finished her secondary education in Colombia and has always worked in the hotel and restaurant industry, cleaning or waiting on tables. She has been learning Catalan on and off for years when it has fitted in with her work and her experience with many people has been their assumption that because someone comes from another country, they will not speak Catalan: '*porque ya mucha gente da por sentado que que por el hecho de ser de fuera no lo hablas'* (because many people take it as given that the fact that you are not from here you don't speak it). Thus, only native, competent speakers are legitimately able to enter the Catalan-speaking space (Pujolar, 2007). Although she thinks it is important to speak Catalan for work, this has never been a problem for her over the last 15 years and she seems to put this down to the type of work she has done with her comment of *'tampoco es que tenga un trabajo er ((risa)), no?'* (it's not that I have the type of work that er ((laughs)), no?). I understood her to mean that she does not consider her work to be of a level of importance to need Catalan

nor is it expected that a person speak Catalan for certain types of work considered low skilled.

Laila, who is 34 years old, came to live in El Masnou when she was nine. She is originally from Morocco and her father first moved to Masnou looking for work in the 1980s before moving the whole family in 1990. Most of Laila's education therefore has been in Catalan and she went on to university to do undergraduate and post-graduate degrees. She speaks Arabic with her mother and father but she tells me since they went to school and started studying in Catalan, she has spoken in Catalan with her siblings. Laila works in the local government offices and again considers Catalan important, particularly in order to access certain employment. She said she felt more comfortable speaking in Moroccan Arabic and Catalan than Castilian but interestingly, throughout the interview she was code-switching at times between the latter two languages and she speaks in Castilian with her husband, who is also from Morocco and came to Catalonia as a child. Laila has two young sons and she told me:

> *normalment parlem amb dialecte marroquí en funció del tema igual estem parlant del Doraemon i del Doraemon parlem en català! Igual ha vist la Pepa Pig i parlem en castellà vull dir no* tenim un idioma fixe *no, de dir, no entrem a casa i parlem només l'àrab, no, en funció dels temes parlem en un idioma o un* altre*.*
>
> normally we speak Moroccan Arabic but it depends on the topic if we're talking about Doraemon[37] we speak in Catalan! If we've seen Pepa Pig we speak in Castilian I mean we don't have a fixed language, no, we don't come home and speak only Arabic, depending on the topic we speak in one language or another (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

[37] Doraemon is a Japanese manga series.

Laila speaks the three languages on a daily basis but her comment about coming home and not only speaking in Arabic seems to imply that she does not identify with a compartmentalised multi-linguism that other migrant families practice who, once at home, switch to their native tongue. For Laila home operates as a space to construct multiple identities. The construction and negotiation of identities through language will be explored later in the thesis in chapter six.

The two other Moroccan women I interviewed, Rachida and Malika, however exclusively speak Arabic at home. They do not speak Catalan; they told me they understand some of it and speak a handful of words. Rachida has lived in Masnou for 13 years and Malika for 11 years yet despite this length of time they did not have a very high level of Castilian either. Both agreed it was important to speak Catalan to find work although they attend a weekly Castilian, not Catalan, language class. Rachida and Malika have young children with whom they speak to in Arabic. I asked them how they communicated with the school as all the communication is in Catalan. Rachida understands more Catalan and says she is able to read any letters the school sends home. Malika either finds someone who understands Catalan or she goes to see the teacher who will explain it in Castilian. The language barriers also surface when Malika talks about her children's understanding of Arabic. She explains about her daughter:

> *tener una hija mayor de 10 años que si hablas en árabe hay muchas cosas de árabe que no sabe y de catalán y castellano ella habla sabes er estas cosas me dice que significa en árabe y no sabe cómo explicarle ella habla árabe pero muchas cosas no sabe que significa en árabe. Y si mi habla en catalán sabe más no sabe leer árabe o una*

> *palabra de árabe no escribe el árabe, no, escribe catalán o castellano.*
>
> My eldest daughter is 10 years old and if I speak in Arabic there are many things she does not know she speaks Catalan and Castilian. She asks me what does this mean in Arabic and I don't know how to explain. She speaks Arabic but there are many things she doesn't know what they mean. And if she speaks to me in Catalan she knows more. She doesn't know how to read Arabic not a word of Arabic she doesn't write it, no, she writes Catalan or Castilian (Malika, 28, 28/10/15).

She also told me that she cannot help her daughter with her homework because she does not have the competency in Catalan or Castilian. She said if you have 30 euros you can pay a teacher to help with the homework, but this is not an option for her. Malika's narrative highlights the pressure she experiences in trying to educate her children in a transnational context.

4.5.4 The Older Generations – international/recent national migrants

As we have seen, the older migrant women who have lived in Masnou most of their lives do not necessarily consider it a problem not speaking Catalan. Among the women I interviewed from the 'second generation' age group, there are some recent migrant arrivals to Masnou. They share similar attitudes towards Catalan as the younger migrants; they are aware of the instrumental value of Catalan and how it may help to find employment although some also have other motivations. Renata is a psychologist from Argentina and considers speaking Catalan to be very useful for her work. She understood that without the language migrants could be limited to the type of work they can find. Not speaking Catalan would mean being 'relegated to positions really very er very low skilled jobs, cleaning, and things like that' which echoes Gabriela's opinion of her own work in the hotel industry. Renata also has a grandchild who is

being brought up in a Catalan environment and she considers it her 'moral obligation' to learn Catalan. Belén, from Cantabria in northern Spain has a six month old baby with her Catalan partner. She speaks fluent English and although as a teacher Belén needs Catalan for her work, she was unsure if she would ever feel as comfortable as she does speaking English or be able to speak it with the same fluency. She tells me: '*si mi hijo aprende catalán yo también quiero conocerlo y porque culturalmente me parece muy bonito, vaya'* (if my son learns Catalan, I also want to learn it and because culturally as well it's a very nice thing to do). Belén was clear that she would not give up her hard-earned profession and despite the sentimental ties she has with Catalonia, if the language became an issue she would consider moving back to Cantabria.[38] Language is not only instrumentally important for Belén but she feels she needs to reach a level of competence for her to feel comfortable in her environment.

Thus, the older migrant women are conscious of the importance of speaking Catalan and actively engage in learning it which contrasts with the migrant women who arrived during the sixties who seem happy to continue speaking in Castilian. Nevertheless, the findings suggest there is a palpable change in the older native Catalan women's attitude to speaking Castilian. As already discussed, the older internal migrant women complained that because Catalans switched languages that made it difficult for them to speak Catalan. A number of the native Catalan women also spoke about how in the past they

[38] In fact, I found out from recent contact with Belén she has now moved back to Cantabria with her son.

would switch languages from Catalan to Castilian to accommodate non-Catalan speakers, but now they try to do this less. Lourdes said: *'jo abans parlava mes el castellà, quan sortia i veia algú que em parlava en castellà, li parlava en castellà però ara no, ara parlo amb tothom en català'* (before I spoke more in Castilian, if I went out and someone spoke to me in Castilian, I would reply in Castilian, but not now, now I speak in Catalan with everyone). Lourdes' stance conveys a change in attitude towards language use and this change could be caused by what the Catalans consider is the constant outlawing of the language by the central state government. Marta says:

> *la llengua jo la llengua és el que em fa més rabia a mi que se'n fiquen amb la llengua i tal nosaltres mai hem tingut problema de res, no, hem sigut els primers tontos jo crec que hem sigut tontos per això no tanta gent parla català perquè hem sigut els primers a canviar d'idioma quant un t'està entenent.*
>
> the language the language is what makes me most angry that they meddle with the language and we've never had any problem, no, we've been the first fools I think we've been foolish and that's why there aren't more people who speak Catalan because we have always been the first to switch language when they understand what you say (Marta, 51, 10/5/15).

Marta's negative evaluation of Castilian can be seen in the next example. She went on to say that among the women she works with, all know how to speak Catalan, but choose to speak in Castilian and she is the one who always changes languages:

> *elles parlen en castellà i tu t'acostumes a parlar en català i ja no pots parlar en català i a vegades arribo a la feina i dic* no no *avui parlaré en català [...] perquè jo* tinc que *parlar en castellà si son catalanes?*
>
> they speak in Castilian and you're used to speaking in Catalan and now you can't and sometimes I go to work and say, no, no, today I will speak in Catalan [...] why do I have to speak in Castilian if they are Catalans? (Marta, 51, 10/5/15).

Marta's narrative reflects a present-day comparison with the region's past repression. She argues that '*we* have never had any problem', thus intimating that the Catalans have been the accommodating ones, but '*they* meddle with the language'. It is as if they feel it necessary to reclaim the right to speak Catalan again; trying to take back control. This could be a reaction to an increase, perceived or real, in Castilian speakers. Josepa remarked:

> *aquí sempre hem parlat el català al carrer sempre hem parlat el que han anat venint la gent de: no de la meva edat de l'edat dels meus pares van anant desapareixent però sempre ha sigut català. Ara tenim veïns castellans és clar ha anat canviant i: però bueno nosaltres respectem totes les festes en català i tot el veïnat participa i vull dir-te que s'ha anat imposant una miqueta,* sí.
>
> here we have always spoken Catalan in the street we have always spoken people have been coming from: no? Of my age and of my parents' age people are disappearing but there has always been Catalan. Now we have Castilian neighbours of course it's been changing and: but well, we respect all the Catalan festivals and all the neighbourhood gets involved I mean to say it has been prevailing a little bit, yes (Josepa, 79, 2/11/15).

Josepa's narrative seems to convey a fear of a possible imposition of Castilian speakers in her street and her way of trying to counter this is her determination to carry on with and preserve the Catalan traditions, when 'all the neighbourhood get involved'. Josepa lives in one of the older neighbourhoods of Masnou, traditionally considered a more Catalan area that did not experience the impact of the first wave of national migrants in the sixties. Agnès also considers there to be more Castilian speakers now and in some part criticises the second generation of national migrants that speak in Castilian, although at the same time she remarks that *'we have the bad habit'* of always changing language and says *'maybe it's because we are polite'*.

However, her comments seem to indicate that there is less tolerance of the newer or second generation migrants:

> *pero aquí por qué tienes que hacer ese esfuerzo? Si todo el mundo te entiende? Entonces es muy difícil que lo entiendan es una cosa pero que ellos para hablar hablen es no creas que sea tan fácil, no. Hay mucha gente que no.*
>
> but here why do you need to make an effort? If everyone understands you? So it's very difficult that they understand it [Catalan] is one thing but to get them to speak it, don't think it's so easy, no. There are many people that don't (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15).

As discussed by Woolard (1989), politeness is not the only consideration for switching from Catalan to Castilian. Although she argues it is a largely unconscious practice, there are other factors to explain the accommodation norm such as physical cues, i.e. if someone does not 'look Catalan', or if they have a non-Catalan accent. Lytra (2016) notes how past histories and stereotypes influence thought and action in a social encounter and thus physical features can be a trigger for language choice. Occupation is also often a deciding factor of language choice which could also be related to class. As already mentioned, non-Catalan speakers, particularly international migrants, can often only access certain unskilled jobs and therefore the assumption may be that the people in this type of work will not speak Catalan. Conscious or not, switching to Castilian also helps to act as a 'boundary maintenance' and excludes migrants by not giving them a space to try and speak Catalan (Woolard, 1989: 74).

4.6 Conclusion

I began this chapter with a discussion of the historic linguistic and cultural repression imposed on Catalonia culminating in the recent 40 year fascist

dictatorship of the 20th century. Crameri (2012: 40) points out the common perception that the 'Catalans as a people' were defeated in the civil war due to extensive support for the Republic in Catalonia and further because of Francoist reprisals against them. This discourse is widespread in everyday life in Catalonia and clearly evident in the women's narratives. However, having explored the spaces where women experienced repression, I have identified contradictions to the narrative of an oppressed population and revealed spaces where resistance towards the regime took place. I have shown that men as well as women played a part in the transmission of language and culture, subverting this traditional gendered narrative.

Catalonia's condition as a migrant destination has necessitated shifts in language attitudes from both native Catalans and migrants. Recent migrants, regardless of their age or ethnicity, understand the importance of learning Catalan. However, the practice of not switching languages that the women describe does not wholly seem to be attached to an attempt to integrate migrants and create an inclusive society. It is interesting to note that this change of practice can be interpreted as a change of stance towards Catalan linguistic ideologies rather than a change in ideologies themselves and it could be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, this practice may be interpreted as another complex form of 'othering', akin to Gumperz's *'we' code – 'they' code* term in conversational codeswitching (1982: 95) whereby the 'in-group' use the 'we' code, in this case, Catalan. By not changing languages, they are effectively establishing a 'we' group that is accessed by native Catalan speakers. Secondly, the strategy may be being employed to make a stand against the

alleged provocation from the central state government. In their work on negotiating identities in multilingual environments, Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004: 4) discuss how languages, as well as being markers of identity, are also 'sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity or discrimination'. This was apparent during the Franco regime when the Catalan language continued to be spoken as a means of resisting the imposition and control of Castilian. It can also be appreciated in the way some of the women in my study use it today as a form of resistance to counter the perceived attacks on the language by the Spanish government and who consider this new attempt to impose more Castilian as a tool to wield state power. These present-day issues mirror past tensions and could make it appear that there has been no change in the sociolinguistic landscape of Catalonia. As I have discussed and other recent studies have found, there have been shifts in linguistic practices (e.g. Newman et al., 2008; Pujolar & González, 2013; Woolard & Frekko, 2013). Notwithstanding these shifts, the narrative of the political repression of language during the Franco regime endures and, along with the current political narrative, permeates into the women's everyday discourse.

As briefly noted above, issues of identity are present in any discussion on language and the centrality of language as a marker of identity has been the source of much empirical and theoretical debate (e.g. Edwards, 1985; Fishman, 1972; Joseph, 2004; May, 2012) and this theme will be explored in chapter six. The focus of the following chapter however is migration and will examine in detail the women's discourse of migration and integration of

migrants and how this may contrast with the Catalan government's integration policies.

Chapter 5

INTEGRATION AND MIGRATION

entendre que hi ha persones tant lluïres com tu llavors aquí sempre tindran punts d'unió sempre hi ha uns punts que ens uneix i uns altres que no perquè no cal que parlem, no, és molt respectable que tinguis els teus i és molt respectable que tingui els meus, però n'hi hauran uns que com a poble que ens uniren segur i els hem de trobar si volem una bona integració de tothom.

understand that there are people as free as you then we will always have things that unite us there are always things that unite us and some that won't that we don't need to discuss, no? it is very respectable that you have yours and it's very respectable that I have mine but there will be some things as a village that unite us for sure and we have to find them if we want everyone to integrate well (Remei, 75, 20/5/15).

5.1 Catalonia, *terra de pas*

Migration is not a new phenomenon to Catalonia and the concept of being a *'terra de pas'*, a land of passage, has been applied to the region since the late 19th century given its geographical coastal location between Spain and France (Conversi, 2002). This notion was further developed by historian Vicens Vives (1984) and Catalonia's condition of a cosmopolitan, assimilating society, a '*terra d'acollida'*, a land of welcome, is based on this concept and the idea of a dynamic and diverse influx of people is often repeated in political discourse (Franco Guillén & Zapata Barrero, 2014). Since the beginning of the 20th century, Catalonia has been a major destination for migrants from outside Spain, and during the first decade of the 21st century the increase in the

migrant population has been disproportionate to the rest of Spain,[39] and indeed, Europe (Climent, 2013). The 2016 figures show the current number of foreign migrants in Catalonia accounts for 13.6% of the total population (Idescat, 2017c).[40]

Historically, the migratory movement to Catalonia can be divided into three main periods: the first wave during the 1920s and 1930s, the second wave from the 1940s until the early 1970s and the third wave from the mid-1990s onwards. The first two waves were made up of mainly internal migrants from other parts of Spain; the third wave being principally international migration. These high levels of migration geographically and socially changed the landscape of Catalonia and the integration of the migrant population has been a central concern in Catalonia since the arrival of the Spanish migrants in the 1960s. In this chapter I explore the issues surrounding integration from the perspective of both the migrant women and the native Catalan women.

The chapter starts with a discussion on immigration in Catalonia. A detailed analysis of immigration is beyond the scope and focus of this thesis, however a brief historical background and an overview of the present-day situation and integration policies is necessary in order to contextualise the perceptions and perspectives of the women's narratives. The second part of the chapter analyses the discourses of integration in my data and is divided into three

[39] Spain's migrant population increased from just under 4% to 14% between 2000 and 2009 (Arango, 2013). In January 2016, the total migrant population for Spain was 4,418,898, or 9.5% of the population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016).
[40] Data from *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* (Statistical Institute of Catalonia): the total population of Catalonia in 2016 was 7,522,596, of which the total migrant population was 1,023,398 (Idescat, 2017c).

themes: language, place and culture. I will demonstrate that the women's discourses of integration are complex and nuanced and often diverge from the Catalan government's model of a plural and intercultural society. The three themes of language, place and culture can be mapped onto the conceptual spatial framework. In what follows, physical and ideological spaces are reproduced through language, place and culture. As I showed in the previous chapter, language is considered the ideological 'backbone' of the Catalan nation. As well as being physical spaces, places where a particular language is spoken can also become ideological spaces, and, through cultural practices, these spaces can permit or restrict access to both migrant and native groups. As in all the chapters, the oral history narratives create a temporal space for retelling the past.

5.1.1 Regional migration

As already noted, Catalonia has a history of receiving migrants from other Spanish regions. A strong developing Catalan economy and high demand for manual labour gave rise to the first wave of regional migration in the 1920s and 1930s. Internal migrants arrived from the poorer, rural areas, particularly from the southern regions of Andalucía, Extremadura and Murcia and settled mainly in the province of Barcelona (Valverde, 1996). The second wave of internal migration occurred between the 1940s and 1970s; the early post-civil war migrant movement of land labourers from the south was propelled by hunger and starvation (Cazorla Sánchez, 2009). However, Catalonia experienced its greatest influx of migrants in the 1960s with the arrival of around 700,000 migrants, resulting in the doubling of the total population of

Catalonia (ibid.). The migration boom was the result of increased industrialisation and the new tourist industry that developed following Franco's Stabilisation Plan in 1959. The plan shifted Spain's economic policy to the outside world, signalling the end of autarky and the beginning of the period known as *desarrollismo* or developmentalism (Martín & Martínez, 2007). Along with Madrid and the Basque Country, Catalonia was one of the principal migrant destinations. The Franco regime failed to address the demand for housing and infrastructure (in 1968 the new housing deficit in Barcelona alone was nearly 61,000) and the new arrivals lived mainly on the outskirts of the cities in shanty towns in precarious, overcrowded conditions (Cazorla Sánchez, 2009). By 1970 the migrant population constituted over 37% of the total Catalan population (Kleiner-Liebau, 2009). This means that today, three out of four Catalans can count an immigrant among their recent predecessors (Cardús, 2005).

5.1.2 International migration

Following the death of Franco, migrants from other countries outside of Spain started to arrive from West and North African countries in the late 1970s and 1980s to fulfil the demand for cheap manual labour and continued to increase in the 1990s coinciding with the real estate and construction boom (Ribera i Garijo, 2012). At this time, migrants also arrived from Latin American countries, with many of the early arrivals escaping from dictatorships (ibid.). However, there was a huge increase in international migration during the first decade of the 21st century. In the year 2000, foreign migrants made up just 2.9% of the total population in Catalonia; this figure rose to 16% by 2010

(Climent, 2013). As already noted, foreign migrants now constitute almost 14% of the population. According to the *Generalitat's* (Catalan government) immigration department, there are 177 nationalities living in Catalonia today (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014). The main countries of origin are Morocco, forming nearly 21% of the total foreign population, followed by Romania and China (Idescat, 2016). According to the government's figures, three quarters of the immigration in 2014 came from countries outside the EU (ibid.). However, these are the official figures; the number of undocumented migrants has been a constant issue since the 1980s (Codó, 2008) and it is estimated that approximately 20% of foreign migrants reside illegally in the region (Ribera i Garijo, 2012). Barceló (2014) argues that immigration in Catalonia is viewed as a double edged sword. On one hand, cheap labour opens up opportunities for the native population whilst on the other hand, it poses a threat to the Catalan cultural, linguistic and national identity. The challenges to integrate linguistically, culturally and religiously diverse people add a new dimension to those encountered with the regional migrants in the past.

5.1.3 Integration policies

In the context of immigration, integration is an often poorly defined concept, particularly in government integration policy documents (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998). Nor is there a consensus regarding its meaning in either scholarship or public discussion (Castles et al., 2003). Nagel and Staeheli (2008: 416) define its common usage as 'the incorporation of immigrants into the spaces and realms of life of a host society'. However, this combines multiple aspects of integration: economic, social and cultural as well as diverse

domains where integration may take place (Rutter, 2015). These elements of integration frequently overlap and as I will show with my data, different spaces, both physical and ideological, can enable or inhibit integration.

Catalonia was the first region in Spain to develop an immigration plan in 1993 (Zapata Barrero, 2012b). However, the structural and social consequences of the mass migration of the 1950s and 1960s have had a profound impact on Catalan society (Climent, 2013). In the early 1960s, the political activist Jordi Pujol (who later was to become president of the *Generalitat* for nearly 25 years), spoke about the challenges: 'our central problem is immigration, and therefore, integration' (Dowling, 2005: 112). Integration posed two main problems. Firstly, as already noted, the enormous increase in population in the 1960s led to a great strain on urban infrastructures and internal migrants were concentrated on the outskirts of cities, living in extremely unstable conditions (Santacana, 2015). Secondly, the majority were monolingual Castilian-speaking migrants and their lack of interaction with native Catalans and their sociocultural differences posed a threat to the Catalan identity, particularly as their arrival coincided with the linguistic and cultural repression imposed by the Franco regime (Conversi, 2002). The impact of immigration provoked considerable debate among the emerging Catalan intellectual community and led to a number of texts including Candel's (1964) publication *Els Altres Catalans* (The Other Catalans). In his book, Candel argued that the difficult conditions suffered by the immigrants would not help them identify with the Catalans. A year later, Manel Cruells' book *Els no Catalans i nosaltres* (The non-Catalans and Us) accused the Castilian community of rejecting the

Catalan language and thus rejecting integration into Catalan society (Guibernau, 2004).

Thus, following the death of Franco and the reestablishment of the *Generalitat*, one of the principal tasks for the new Catalan government was to begin the process of linguistic immersion. In chapter four I have already discussed some of the linguistic immersion policies and the laws introduced by the *Generalitat* in the early 1980s such as the *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalonia* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation) and the *Norma* campaign. There were a number of other immersion initiatives and campaigns such as *'Dona corda al Català'* (Wind up Catalan, 2005) and *Encomana el català* (Pass on Catalan, 2009) aimed at linguistic immersion which was seen as the cornerstone of integration and social cohesion (Gil Araujo, 2006). One particular earlier campaign launched by the Catalan government in 1987 *'Som sis milions'* (We are six million) was intended to promote the idea of a collective nation and erase the differences between the autochthonous Catalans and the migrants (Franco Guillén & Zapata Barrero, 2014; Gil Araujo, 2006). The importance of promoting a civic, rather than an ethnic construction of Catalan identity was, as Strubell (1999: 9) noted, to 'avert the threat of a social and even political division among ethnolinguistic (and probably urban class) lines'.

The new migratory movements have resulted in a number of immigration policies introduced since the early 90s that have been modified to deal with the challenge of integrating such a large quantity of multicultural migrants. More recent policies include the *Pacte Nacional d'Immigració* (National Pact

on Immigration), agreed by all Spanish autonomous communities in 2008, that provides guidelines on migration policies upon which the Catalan government further develops its own migrant integration policies. This new agreement led the way to the *Llei d'acollida de les persones immigrades 2010* (Law on Reception of immigrants 2010) that intended to create a universal, homogenous reception service throughout Catalonia that offers information on Catalan culture and employment and language classes (Ribera i Garijo, 2012). For adults, language classes are coordinated by the *Consorci per la Normalització Lingüística* (Consortium of Language Normalisation) and all local municipalities offer different levels of (free) Catalan classes. For children, in 2004 the Catalan government introduced the first *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social*, (Proposal for Language and Social Cohesion – *Pla LIC*) which was intended as a basis for immigrant language education. One of the premises of the proposal was to create *aules d'acollida* (reception classes, this term can also be translated as 'welcome classes') where newly arrived migrant children spend a few hours each day learning Catalan before being introduced into the mainstream classes.

The Law on Reception, the *Pla LIC* and the latest *Pla de Ciutadania i de les migracions 2016* (Citizenship and Migration Plan 2016) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014) all emphasise the importance of learning the Catalan language and consider it plays an essential role in successful integration and social cohesion, explicitly demonstrated in this extract:

> *El català ha de seguir sent la llengua comuna, i cal seguir promovent-la com a eina de cohesió social […] El català, com a llengua pròpia de Catalunya, és una llengua d'oportunitats i ha de servir per a la interrelació de totes les persones que hi viuen.*

> Catalan should remain the common language and continue to be promoted as a tool for social cohesion. […]Catalan, as Catalonia's own language, is a language of opportunity and should be used for the interaction of all people living there (ibid.: 44-45).

Here, Catalan continues to be promoted as the language of social advancement and studies have shown a direct correlation between speaking Catalan and level of education (Dowling, 2013). However, as well as a language of opportunity, Catalan is also referred to as a *'llengua pròpia'*[41] (own language) that suggests an authenticity of a language that belongs to a people. This concept of a particular, local language has been criticised for constraining its use among non-natives and was substituted for *'llengua publica comuna'* (common public language) in later language policies and campaigns in an attempt to remove traces of ethnolinguistic dimension (Branchadell, 2012). However, as can be seen in this very recent policy, the term still persists and I will show in chapter six how it continues to permeate everyday discourse.

5.1.4 From assimilation to interculturalism

Integration policies in Catalonia go hand in hand with linguistic policies (Climent, 2013) and indeed some scholars argue that integration policies are gradually becoming language policies (Zapata Barrero, 2012a). As a minority 'nation' with a minority language (albeit, in the case of Catalan, the language of social prestige), the prioritisation of one language is a common practice (see Heller, 2006 on Quebec). The new wave of immigration brought not only

[41] Kathyrn Woolard (2016: 41-43) gives a detailed explanation of the nuances of the term *'llengua pròpia'* and discusses its use as a plausible alternative for 'national' language in the Catalan Statute of Autonomy ('national' is a term that would not be accepted by the Spanish government, Spanish being the only 'national' language).

linguistic integration issues but additional challenges based on ethnic, religious and cultural differentiation.

Earlier integration policies focused on a model of cultural assimilation whereby integration essentially meant learning the language and the Catalanisation of migrants (Dowling, 2005; van Dijk, 2005). With the dramatic increase in non-Spanish immigration, an inclusive, civic approach was needed and assimilationist strategies gave way to multiculturalism, which respected cultural differences between different groups but did not foment any interaction between the different cultures (Franco Guillén & Zapata Barrero, 2014). However, throughout Europe the multiculturalism model has been criticised for contributing to a perceived lack of integration and increased segregation of immigrants and many state governments now promote integration policies of interculturalism (Conversi & Jeram, 2017). Some scholars consider multiculturalism to be an 'essentialist view of diversity', whereby policies or institutions categorise individuals based on origin or nationality (Zapata Barrero, 2015: 5). Interculturalism promotes a more open-cultural approach and is focused on the interaction between different forms of diversity, such as language, religion and culture (ibid.). In nations without states, such as Catalonia, it is suggested that intercultural frameworks are often utilised to avoid being subsumed by a multicultural identity aspired to by state government as their argument of distinctiveness is less strong if they become 'just another ethnic group' (Conversi & Jeram, 2017: 55). This argument has been made against Quebec's intercultural framework, which is partly based on integration through linguistic competence. Taylor (2012: 417) warns that in

practice this can lead 'towards imposing assimilation as a condition of integration', insisting that migrants become 'like us'. Given Catalonia's endeavours to integrate migrants through linguistic immersion programmes, it could be argued that Catalonia's integration policies are, at least partly, based on issues of language and identity (ibid.).

Catalonia was the first autonomous community in Spain to introduce a model of interculturalism. In fact, Zapata Barrero (2007) notes that the city of Barcelona incorporated a policy of interculturalism into their diversity management framework as early as 1993. This was adopted by the socialist central state government in 2004 in the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración* (Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration – PECI). Although the plan gave certain power to the autonomous communities, it was criticised for ignoring Spain's multinational regions and the fact that they may have additional needs to manage linguistic integration (Conversi & Jaram, 2017).

The Catalan government's discourse on integration policies today leans towards interculturalism, as does the discourse of most of the opposition parties,[42] and thus favours a 'progressive integration that moves towards a single, yet open, society which allows itself to be influenced and partially changed on a gradual basis by the cultures of those who have integrated into

[42] In a recent study, Rubio Carbonero & Zapata Barrero (2017: 19) found little evidence of discrimination in political discourse, although they did find an implicit tendency to prioritise Catalan identity, culture and nation. However, the far-right party *Plataforma per Catalunya (*Platform for Catalonia - PxC) is openly anti-immigration and anti-Muslim and has gained support in recent years in local elections. According to Guia (2016: 115), PxC eliminated the division between Catalan and Castilian speakers in Catalonia and considered everyone 'native Catalans'. The new discourse they created pitted *'Los de Casa'* (The Locals) against the Muslims.

it' (Ribera i Garijo, 2012: 72). The *Informe sobre la integració de les persones immigrades a Catalunya 2015* (Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia 2015) discusses at length the intercultural elements of the integration strategies and the role of Catalan authorities 'to demonstrate an unequivocal commitment to intercultural principles, based on the equality of rights and responsibilities, respect for diversity, interaction and non-discrimination' (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2016: 67).

However, others argue that accepting different forms of diversity may have a narrower interpretation. Analysis of the *Pla LIC* reveals there is an apparent contradiction between the need to understand diversity and accept a multilingual society, and the prioritisation of Catalan as the vehicular language and instrument of social cohesion (Dooly & Unamuno, 2009). When discussing the need for plurilingualism, the proposal defines this as the importance of learning other European languages and specifically mentions Catalan, Castilian and English and goes on to say that the school space must respect the *'diversitat lingüística i cultural que conforma a la nostra societat'* (the linguistic and cultural diversity that conforms with our society) (ibid.: 225). Thus, as Dooly and Unamuno point out, any diversity that does not conform is essentially erased. Integration, however, is not a one-dimensional phenomenon. It is a process that can operate on many levels and in many different 'spheres' of integration, as I will demonstrate in the analysis below (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003: 8).

5.1.5 El Masnou and migration

As mentioned in chapter one, given its proximity to Barcelona, El Masnou felt the effects of the influx of regional migration, particularly following the civil war. The population of around 5,000 inhabitants throughout the 1950s increased by 40% to 7,000 during the 1960s (Calls & Tarragó, 2011). Due to poor infrastructure and neglect under the Francoist government, the repercussions of this sharp increase led to a number of social problems in the village such as lack of housing, water supplies and severe overcrowding in the schools, with up to 50 pupils per class (ibid.). In order to counteract the housing deficit, in the 1960s, seven blocks of flats were built on the outskirts of the village. This land had previously been open countryside or wasteland and access to the village and the train station was via dirt tracks or through the fields. This is where the Spanish migrants settled. This part of the village carried on steadily growing, more flats were constructed and following the first elections after Franco's death, additional services were established including roads linking the area to the old village and a school was built (ibid.). Officially this area of the village is known as Masnou Alt (High Masnou) due to its elevated location but all the locals know it as '*Els Blocs'* (Catalan) or '*Los Bloques'* (Castilian) (the blocks) and it continues to be a place that attracts migrant residents.

Migration from outside Spain initially came from West Africa in the late 70s and early 80s. Young Senegalese or Gambian men arrived to El Masnou and other villages along the coast of the Maresme county to work in the fields or to pick carnations and, as in the rest of Catalonia, this was followed by Moroccan and Latin American migrants. El Masnou currently has a population of 23,119,

of which the number of foreign inhabitants, that is those who do not hold Spanish nationality, is 1,885 or 8.15% of the population (Idescat, 2017b). The data from the Catalan Statistical Institute also show population by place of birth: 3,674 inhabitants were born outside of Catalonia and 2,632 were born outside of Spain (ibid.).[43]

5.2 Discourses of integration

Given the rapidly changing make up of Catalan society and the challenges these changes bring to the coexistence of its people, integration is a pertinent theme to explore when analysing my data. At the same time, when considering the diverse population, the intersectional focus of the study is central to the analysis. In the majority of the interviews the topic of migrants and integration did not usually come up without prompting. I was careful to phrase the question[44] in a way that would enable the women to answer it openly without fear of themselves coming across as critical. Some women explicitly put forward their own opinions on the subject whilst others were more circumspect in their response. The analysis of these narratives follows and I shall draw on the women's perceptions and experiences. As I discovered, the women's narratives revealed a complex diverging and converging of ideas and issues, much more nuanced than a simple bifurcation of the native women versus the migrant women. The findings are thus divided into broad, interrelated themes that explore what the women understand by integration and raise questions

[43] Many of the earlier arrivals will have acquired Spanish nationality, hence the difference between the current number of foreign inhabitants (1,885) and the number born outside of Spain (2,632).
[44] I usually approached this topic by first introducing the topic of immigration issues in the UK and asking what people thought about it in the village.

about what integration actually means. I analyse whether there are any barriers to integration and, if so, how do both native Catalan and migrants negotiate these barriers. I examine the spaces natives and migrants share as well as exploring any differences in attitudes among the groups and ages.

The model of an integrated society as proposed by the Catalan government's integration policies promotes interculturality, plurilingualism and diversity to foster social cohesion and harmonious coexistence. In the analysis, I will deconstruct this model and show that the everyday practices of the women in my study and their attitude towards and understanding of an integrated society do not always converge. I will do this by looking at three areas central to integration: language, place and cultural difference. As mentioned above, this section examines the three different groups of women. These groups however, do not just exhibit stand-alone features but are interrelated and overlap in many ways.

5.2.1 Language

In this section I will explore the principal role that language plays in the process of integration and show how ideological and physical spaces are created through language. Esser (2006: i) argues: 'Inequalities in terms of access to education, income, central institutions, societal recognition and social contact are significantly, although not exclusively, determined by linguistic competence in the relevant national language'. As discussed in this chapter's introduction, learning the language is considered one of the essential tools for successful integration into Catalan society for non-Catalan speaking migrants.

Linguistic immersion has been one of the central aims of the *Generalitat* since the transition to democracy and work began in earnest after Franco's death in 1975 (Conversi, 2002). Language, and its impact on the integration process, is a common thread through the interviews. The older Catalan women discussed how the internal migrants settled in the village. Clara told me: '*claro, es el mismo país, la única cosa era la lengua que no la cambiaron, algunos no la cambiaron'* (of course, it's the same country, the only thing was the language that they didn't change, some of them didn't change). Clara's comment suggests that being from the same country, and hence being culturally close, was an important aspect of integration and the language was almost incidental. Other women made similar comments:

> *o sigui immigrants diguem-ne i la gent d'aqui tothom treballava er va ser molt macu y va conseguir moltes coses als barris i que va fer integrar a tothom, va ser un periode molt molt interessant […] vull dir aquesta separació que hi ha ara abans no no, aquest treball de barris era lo més important més que si parlavas o no, tothom parlava català com podia o sigui no se no havia el problema aquest.*
>
> so the immigrants and the people from here everyone was working er it was wonderful and many things were achieved in the neighbourhoods that enabled everyone to integrate it was a very interesting time […] I mean this separation that there is now it wasn't there before, no, the work done in the neighbourhoods was what was important more than if you spoke or not everyone spoke Catalan as well as they could I mean we didn't have this problem (Carme, 70, 9/10/15).

Thus, certainly at the beginning of the transition to democracy, the women remember this as a time when everyone was working towards the same goal: to rebuild the country after years of dictatorship with less importance given at that time to speaking perfect Catalan.

Despite these feelings of camaraderie, many of the Catalan women today still consider the people who arrived from other parts of Spain to be immigrants and spoke about *'aun la cuarta generación continua con el castellano'* (the fourth generation still continue speaking Castilian). As Dowling (2013) notes, the very fact that the movement of people from other parts of the country was labelled 'immigration' instead of a migratory movement, is significant and strengthened the discourse of 'the other'. The public debate surrounding the arrival of internal migrants in the 1960s and 1970s and the association of Castilian with the Franco regime persist today. In 2003, in order to promote the integration of Castilian-speaking migrants, the then ERC leader, Josep Lluís Carod Rovira, argued that the *'nous catalans'* (new Catalans) should no longer be called immigrants but should be considered Catalan (Carod Rovira, 2003). However, my findings suggest that the 'immigrant' discourse when discussing Spanish migrants has become naturalised:

> *l'immigració bueno jo lo que veig er veig nanos er molta gent tambe de fora parlar i a vegades veig mes els immigrants africans que parlen catala que no els mateixos immigrants interiors que han nascut aqui que els seus pares han vingut d'Andalusia o de sigui o de Galicia i ells seus pares parlaven castellà evidentment pero els fills d'aquests saben parlar catala i dius perdona, no, no sé, no entenc pero en canvi els nanos de families immigrants marroquies o o xinos o on sigui, veus que el catala ho porten, jo veig mes aquesta diferencia.*
>
> Immigration well I see er I see kids er many people from outside Catalonia speaking [Catalan] and sometimes I see more African immigrants who speak Catalan than the actual internal immigrants that have been born here whose parents came from Andalucía or Galicia and their parents obviously spoke Castilian but their children know how to speak Catalan and you say excuse me? No, I don't understand but on the other hand, kids from Moroccan immigrant families or Chinese or wherever you see that they do speak Catalan, I see this difference (Marta, 51, 10/5/15).

This example shows that, despite having 'been born here', the Spanish migrants are still 'immigrants' and their linguistic integration, or lack of it, is

criticised when compared with other migrants from outside Spain. Marta's narrative exemplifies Du Bois' (2007) three part stance act. Marta simultaneously evaluates migrants' linguistic practices, positions and aligns herself with the African and Asian migrants and against the Spanish migrants, taking on a particular anti-Spanish stance. This creates an 'us-them-those' discourse which suggests that one migrant group, the international migrants, is considered to be a 'better' migrant due to its linguistic competency. I perceived this criticism of Spanish migrants on a number of occasions and I would argue that Catalans often conflate the tensions with the Spanish government with all other aspects of Spain and with all its people. In a sense, if something or somebody is Spanish, it is almost by definition negatively evaluated by some Catalans.

5.2.2 Integration through education

A salient theme in the interviews is the importance of education as a tool for integration. Echoing the sentiment of Carod Rovira, Cristina spoke about how Catalonia had integrated the Spanish migrants through learning the language. She accused the Francoist state government of a conspiracy to *'inundar Cataluña con gente de Extremadura, de Andalucía y de Murcia y así se les olvidarán el nacionalismo'* (inundate Catalonia with people from Extremadura, Andalucía and Murcia and that way they will forget their nationalism):[45]

> *se dijo vale todos los que vengan para aca vamos a educarlos o sea no educarlos dijéramos, sencillamente los vamos a integrar o sea que estén en su casa, no? no en un país foráneo. Cómo los vamos a integrar? De entrada pues con- o sea con educación enseñándoles el*

[45] This conspiracy theory was put forward by the Catalan writer, Raimon Galí, who called it a 'foreign invasion' (Galí (1984) cited in Dowling, 2013: 81).

idioma se puso a los niños en las escuelas y a los mayores er clases y en todos los ayuntamientos hay los servicios de clases de catalán.

they said ok all those that come here we're going to educate them I mean not educate as such simply we're going to integrate them I mean they're at home, not in a foreign country. How are we going to integrate them? Well, first with education teaching them the language the children went to school and the adults had classes, all the local authorities offer Catalan classes (Cristina, 65, 6/5/15).

She went on to say that the government's plan backfired once all the migrants had learned Catalan and her comments suggest that the Catalan government's linguistic immersion policies were successful. Cristina clearly constructs a stance against the Spanish government and her comment 'they are at home' could suggest she considers the migrants to be part of the Catalan imagined community. However, despite learning the language and being 'at home', she continues to refer to the migrants as 'immigrants', another example of how the immigrant discourse has become internalised and emphasises the partialness principle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) that all constructions of identity are informed by wider ideological processes:

con la cuestión lingüística todos los niños hablan catalán todos o sea han tenido una educación y esto les ha jodido un montón […] y ahora hay cantidad de inmigrantes que son más nacionalistas que muchos catalanes!

with the linguistic issue, all the children speak Catalan all of them I mean they've had an education and this has really pissed them off [the state government] […] and now there are loads of immigrants who are more nationalist than many Catalans! (Cristina, 65, 6/5/15).

Integration of the 'new Catalans' to ensure continuity of the language, was, and still is a central issue. Sara expresses concern about the Catalan language dying out:

se ha llegado a decir que el catalán puede er bueno que bueno desaparecer evidentemente a mucho largo plazo pero claro si gente inmigrante viene aquí (.) y y no y si no se continua hablando catalán

> *claro (.) a ver, yo creo que es esencial el tema educativo el tema del catalán yo creo que el tema educativo es esencial.*
>
> it has been said that Catalan could well that it could disappear obviously this is very long term but of course immigrant people come here (.) and and if they don't continue speaking Catalan of course (.) I mean I believe that the educational part is essential for Catalan I think the educational part is essential (Sara, 49, 9/5/15).

Laia, the Catalan language teacher, strongly supports this:

> *el català te una certa força i sobre tot i molt important perque es la llengua del ensenyament per aixo l'immersió lingüística es importantíssim i això no es pot perdre de cap de les maneres, això és (xxx) puntal de la supervivencia del català durant aquests 33 anys que portem de la democràcia i resistin a la pressió inmigratoria és a dir per molt que hagin vingut persones de llengua no catalana els fills s'ha escolaritzat i l'ho han fet en català.*
>
> Catalan has a certain strength above all and most importantly because it is the language of education, that's why the linguistic immersion is so, so important and in no way must this be lost it is (xxx) the mainstay of Catalan survival throughout the 33 years of democracy and resistance of immigration pressures. So even though many non-Catalan speaking people have come here their children have been schooled and they have done it in Catalan (Laia, 48, 15/5/15).

These narratives show that, despite the fact that Catalan has been established as the official language since 1983, as a minority 'nation' there is still the fear and threat of the dominant state language or assimilation into the dominant state culture (Franco Guillén & Zapata Barrero, 2014).

The success of integration through linguistic immersion is discussed by others. Among the women I interviewed were two language teachers for adults and three school teachers. Lídia, an older Catalan women, explained about the integration process in the reception class in schools, the so-called *'aula d'acollida'*:

> *a les escoles hi havia l'aula d'acollida, o sigui el nano que venia, pues anava a unes classes especials […] havien profes especials i les*

> *ensenyaven a parlar rudiments, lo mínim de les classe perque els anessim integrant, costava molt perque despres et venien a classe i no seguien pero vaya […] el profe de l'aula d'acollida parlava amb els pares, les deia els tramits que havia de fer quan eren les festes de reis s'els explicava per recollir juguets era una mica una guia i després jo que se hi ha moltes entitats ara les biblioteques per exemple realmente es un pais d'acollida.*
>
> in schools there was a reception class, so children that came went to special classes there were special teachers who taught them rudimentary Catalan the basic stuff so that we could integrate them it was very hard because they would then come to the main class and they couldn't follow but anyway the reception class teacher would talk with the parents told them what they needed to do, when it was the Kings'[46] holidays they explained to them about collecting toys it was a bit of a guide and also now there are many places libraries for example it really is a welcoming country (Lídia, 67, 9/10/15).

Lídia uses the term *'pais d'acollida'* (welcoming country). Catalonia has long been presented as a welcoming country in political and mainstream media discourse; several references can be found in the National Pact on Immigration and it is mentioned in the first line of the preamble in the Catalan Statute of 2006 (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006). Lídia's narrative shows how the *aula d'acollida* also served as a reception class for migrant parents, to teach them about Catalan culture. Thus, together with the language, adoption of the culture was important and migrant parents needed to adjust their behaviour in order to integrate into society. This conflates integration with assimilation (Trenchs Parera & Newman, 2009) and contradicts the basic concepts of interculturalism, whereby it is acknowledged that it is important to strike a balance of power between diverse group identities (Allan, 2014). In this example, the onus is entirely on the migrant to take on the hegemonic Catalan culture.

[46] Referring to the custom of giving presents on the 6th January, known as '*el Dia dels Reis'* or Kings' Day.

Laia, the Catalan language teacher, also sees the school as *'un entorn molt important d'integració no nomes dels nens sino tambe dels pares'* (a very important environment for integration not only for the children but also for the parents). She is immersed in the daily teaching of migrants and considers the linguistic integration process a success. Laia has a very positive outlook, although she accepts that she only sees those who are motivated or able to learn: *clar, jo veig els que volen aprendre o tenen necesitat i l'aprenden i tal per tant, jo diria sí, sí que l'aprenen, no?* (of course, I see those who want or need to learn [Catalan] and therefore, I would say yes, they learn it).

Aside from motivation, migrants need to have the opportunity to learn the language, and this can exclude certain groups, particularly those who are illiterate. One of the Moroccan women, Laila, told me that 80% of the Moroccan population in Catalonia cannot read or write, although there are no official figures available to verify this percentage.[47]

5.2.3 Integration in the everyday

I have discussed in chapter four the instrumental importance of speaking Catalan in order to access certain types of employment. Language plays a primary role in our daily lives in many different ways and it is through language that most of our social interactions take place. Efforts to speak the language are considered as efforts to integrate although, according to some, different

[47] The latest figures published by Institut Estadística de Catalunya (Statistical Institute of Catalonia) in 2011 give the total number of illiterate adults in Catalonia as 106,217, but there is no breakdown of nationality (Idescat, 2011).

groups of migrants make more effort than others. When asked about migrant integration, Mireia, a young Catalan woman replied:

> *jo crec que qui vol sí i qui vol, no? perque home es clar si tu ets xines i t'en vas en el barri de xinesos treballas en el barri de xinesos si et parla en el idioma d'alla no tens cap mena d'interés però potser que et trobes un xinés ostia que parla català i castellà que s'en va amb amics xinesos pero tambe amb amics d'aquí i i perfectament.*
>
> I believe that those who want to [integrate] do and those who don't want to don't because I mean it's obvious if you're Chinese and you live and work in a Chinese neighbourhood and you speak that language then you have no interest at all but maybe you come across a Chinese person who speaks Catalan and Castilian who hangs out with their Chinese friends but also with friends from here and it's perfect (Mireia, 31, 21/10/15).

Similarly, the young Catalan women from the focus group also discuss language as a way to integrate, yet they differentiate between two groups of migrants: the Chinese and the Muslims, creating the same 'us-them-those' discourse discussed earlier. In this respect the women convey a negative stance towards the Muslims by making a distinction between the 'good' migrants who try to 'adapt' and speak Catalan and the 'bad' migrants who do not:

Estel: *es això pues que si venen aqui tambe doncs no sé intentant fer-hos er com es diu ay no trobo la paraula er adaptar no? en aquesta societat integrar-se a la societat=*

Paula: *=els xinos?=*

Estel: *=no no els musulmans dic jo que veus mes differencies amb ells=*

Paula: *=els xinos es adapten intenten parlar l'idioma er jo si vaig al xinos em parla en català.*

Estel: it's that if they come here then I don't know they should try to how do you say it? I can't find the word, er adapt no to this society? Integrate into the society=

Paula: =the Chinese?=

Estel: =no, the Muslims I mean I see more differences with them=

Paula: =the Chinese adapt they try to speak the language if I go to a Chinese shop they speak to me in Catalan (1/11/15).

Here, the Catalan women align themselves with the Chinese migrants who they perceive make more effort to integrate by learning the language. Other women make similar comments to Estel's remarks about the Muslim population, particularly when referring to Muslim women. Clara talks about when she used to work in the local government offices:

> *bueno la mujer la mujer er sobre todo la marroquí las chinas sí pero las marroquíes te vienen y er ellas no pueden hacer nada siempre el hombre delante ellas nada pero si te venían a buscar algún certificado o así venían con el niño pequeño que ya iba a la escuela y les hacía de traductor porque ellas no: no aprenden […] Y estas sí que cuesta entrar no entienden porque no entienden la lengua, no? que notas que eso mismo vienen de otro mundo y que no, no, les cuesta. Y yo me parece que les cuesta en todo.*
>
> well the woman the woman above all the Moroccan women the Chinese women yes but the Moroccan women would come and er they couldn't do anything always the man in front they were nothing but if they came to pick up a certificate or something they would come with their young kid that by then went to school and the kid acted as translator because they no: they don't learn […] and these [women] yes they find it difficult to integrate they don't understand because they don't understand the language, no? And you can see that that's it they come from another world and that it's difficult for them. I think everything is difficult for them (Clara, 74, 28/4/15).

Clara seems to evaluate the Muslim women's ability to integrate compared with the Chinese women is based on their linguistic ability. But Clara's comments also suggest that not speaking Catalan results in the women having little control over everyday issues and having to depend on a family member to help them. This dependency limits their opportunities to learn the language. Clara also makes reference to what she considers inappropriate gender

relations: ‘they couldn’t do anything, always the man in front’ and coming from ‘another world’ could also be a factor that impedes their integration into Catalan society. This could be understood as an implicit prejudice about who can and cannot integrate, not just linguistically but also culturally. These cultural barriers to integration surface many times in the women’s narratives, as my findings show later in the chapter.

In some of the interviews, the migrant women spoke about the need to speak Catalan in order to integrate socially. There were mixed feelings. A recent arrival from Mexico, Yolanda’s experiences of speaking Catalan were positive and she felt that her efforts were appreciated:

> *te corrigen y les da gusto que estés tratando […] entonces la gente es encantadora y te ayuda y ayer que fui a comprar un libro que me recomendaron y empecé a hablar catalán con una chica y me corregía y no sé que y me dijo cuando quieras ven y entonces la gente es increíble es increíble te ayuda te apoya muchísimo.*
>
> they correct you and they like it if you make an effort […] people are charming and they help you and yesterday I went to buy a book and started speaking Catalan with a girl and she corrected me and told me to come whenever I liked, so the people are incredible incredible they help you they support you a lot (Yolanda, 53, 24/10/15).

The younger Spanish migrants’ narratives seemed to fluctuate; they often needed to speak Catalan for social activities but they also felt that acceptance into Catalan circles should not be a one-way street. Mónica, from Sevilla, told me that *‘la sociedad es muy amplia el catalán para integrarse en que sectores sí er en la vida informal er hacer vida tú puedes hacer vida perfectamente porque yo la hago’* (society is very broad, to integrate in certain sectors you do need Catalan er but socially, you can live your life perfectly well because I do).

And whilst understanding she needed to make an effort, she argued for more cooperation from the Catalans. These migrant women's narratives question the assumptions of integration being a one-sided effort that are prevalent in the discourse of many of the Catalan women. Mónica defends her argument by comparing bilingual Catalonia with monolingual England:

> *entiendo que tu llegas a un sitio y si aquí esa sociedad se estructura en base a este idioma […] la verdad es que está muy integrada sabe lo que es la lengua pues tú dices pues nada pues me tendré que abordar […] A lo mejor que no sé si nosotros nos tenemos que poner er amoldar a ellos también o que ellos también aflojen un poco ese requisito sabes para dar acceso a más personas que no es algo tampoco principal porque la gente también saben la otra lengua cosa que es distinta si yo me voy a Inglaterra y allí no hablan castellano e inglés, allí solamente hablan inglés eso si lo entiendo.*
>
> I understand that if you arrive to a place and if here the society is structured around this language […] the truth is the language is very integrated so you say, well I have to deal with it […] I don't know, perhaps if we have to adapt to them then they could also let up a bit on the need [to speak it] to open up things for more people, it's not a big deal because people also know the other language. It would be different if I went to England and there they don't speak English and Castilian, they only speak English, I understand that (Mónica, 28, 21/10/15).

Claudia, from Granada had previously lived in other parts of Spain. She told me: '*Yo la primera vez que yo me sentí inmigrante ha sido aquí. No en Murcia, en Murcia no, sigue siendo España. Pero, aquí, porque la lengua hace un montón'* (The first time I felt like an immigrant was here. Not in Murcia, in Murcia no, it's still Spain. But here, because the language makes a massive difference). For Claudia, the impact of the language contributed to her feeling like an immigrant; Catalonia was not Spain. She went on to explain how she felt when she attended a creative writing class. Her lack of competency in Catalan accentuated her 'foreignness' and the following extract sums up her feelings of frustration and isolation:

me pregunta una chica 'es diu' y mira que la habíamos dado con la Laia el 'es diu' y dije uf fue como mierda joder que vergüenza e empecé a- me sentí – sentí vergüenza y dije perdona? Y dice que como te llamas? y yo ah Marta y fue como- ahora es cuando tenéis que aplicar todo- y entonces claro la gente habla en catalán escribe en catalán y y sus textos los leen en catalán y yo no les entiendo entonces como que frustración me gustaría comentar los textos pero no puedo porque no te entiendo. Y es una mierda. Me sentí realmente mal. Pero realmente mal porque claro yo escribí en castellano y dije claro todo el mundo me entiende que suerte, todo el mundo podéis opinar pero yo a vuestros textos no, porque porque escribís en catalán, pero claro, tenéis derecho a escribir en catalán y yo me tengo que joder ((risa)). Esa es la conclusión a la que llego! ((risa)) ya está. Si te molesta que la gente habla en catalán escribe en catalán pues no intentes integrarte, es lo que quiero decir no?

A girl asked me my name and I mean we've learned this with Laia and I was uf it was crap I was so embarrassed and- I felt- felt ashamed and I said excuse me? And she said what's your name and it was like now you have to apply everything and of course the people speak in Catalan write in Catalan and read their texts in Catalan and I don't understand them so it was so frustrating I would like to comment on your texts but I don't understand you. It's crap. I felt really bad. I mean really bad because of course I write in Castilian and everyone understands me they're lucky all of you can give your opinion but I can't, why? Because you write in Catalan but of course you have the right to write in Catalan and I have to put up with it ((laughs)). That was the conclusion that I arrived at! ((laughs)) And that's it! If it bothers you that people speak Catalan and write in Catalan then don't try to integrate that's what I mean to say, no? (Claudia, 27, 20/10/15).

Finding friends can be difficult without speaking the language. Malika, from Morocco, also expressed her isolation due to her lack of linguistic competency, in her case, in either Catalan or Castilian. I asked her if she had any Catalan friends and she replied *'no, no tengo. Tengo una amiga de clase que hablamos, pero yo no sabe de español o catalán y no tengo una amiga'* (No, I don't have any. I have a friend I speak to in class, but I don't speak Spanish or Catalan and I don't have friends). Malika's situation is made more difficult as she does not work and, as a single mother, is the sole carer for her three

young children. Thus her opportunities to socialise and improve her language skills are very limited.

The above examples demonstrate that language can be a huge limiting factor for migrant integration. My findings show that many of the women's narratives concur with government integration policies about the importance of learning the language, and in many cases this seems to be the overriding factor. Nevertheless, speaking Catalan only constitutes integration up to a point. For example, one of the older Catalan women, Clara, expressed her concerns about the integration of Moroccan and Chinese migrant children who, despite learning Catalan at school, *'continua siendo de su país'* (continue being from their country), thus effectively dismissing them as non-authentic Catalans due to their ethnicity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Another Catalan, Remei, makes the point that not wanting to learn Catalan is 'lamentable' but she adds '*hem de entendre que integrar doncs vol dir moltes coses' (we have to understand that integration means many things).* The next section will analyse some of the other factors that contribute towards the women's perception of the integrated other.

5.3 Places

Catalan integration policy promotes the creation of mutual public spaces in order to encourage the mixing of different cultures. The Citizen and Migration Plan sets out the need to

> support neighbourhood organisations and associations in general […] to promote community actions in the field of diversity in order to encourage participation by newcomers and build relationships and

> bridges between people of different origins (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014: 46).

This section thus focuses on the spatiality of integration; how it is produced and experienced in different locations in the village. These physical spaces are also ideological spaces where dominant linguistic or cultural practices may restrict access of a particular group.

5.3.1 Private and public: spaces of exclusion or inclusion

Blommaert (2010: 6) asserts that movement of people across space is

> never a move across empty spaces. The spaces are always someone's space and they are filled with norms, expectations and conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use […].

These norms and expectations not only relate to language use, but also to ways of behaving. In chapter four, I discussed the private/public dichotomy and how, under the Franco regime, Catalan women and men modified their behaviour inside and outside the home for fear of reprisals.

When I examine integration strategies, the private/public binary is also a salient theme. In the public sphere, for example, official Catalan institutions, some migrant women feel they need to adjust their behaviour, as expressed by one of the Moroccan women I interviewed:

> *er cómo explicarte? Bueno fue er a casa estoy haciendo como Marruecos fuera quiero hacer como aquí. Como es tu casa no pasa nada. Como estas fuera si todo que va no sé cómo se llama todo va recto, todo quieres hacer todo bien que tú vas quieres ir al ayuntamiento tienes que coger ticket para esperar sabes todo lo que haces bien, sabes no? Como aquí mismo. Porque si tú no haces esto no sabes lo que podemos pensar de ti sabes?*

> er, how can I explain? Well, at home I do as I would in Morocco, outside I want to behave as they do here. As you are in your home, it's fine. But, outside, everything goes, I don't know what it's called, everything is straight, you want to do it all well, so if you go to the council offices, you have to take a ticket and wait your turn, you know, everything you want to do well, you know, like here for instance.[48] Because, if you don't do this, you don't know what they will think of you, you know? (Rachida, 34, 28/10/15).

These views, apparently underpinned by a desire to be seen as a 'good' migrant and follow the Catalan social codes when Rachida is in a public space, could be interpreted as a way of trying to mitigate the visible differences – her dress, headscarf and Arabic features. As Caroline Nagel (2009) argues, migrants come across ideas of sameness and difference in their everyday social interaction and they respond to these ideas in the way they comport themselves. By behaving as *'they do here'*, Rachida is performing a level of integration by presenting herself in a particular way.

I have also discussed previously how the repressed Catalan women used private spaces to transmit their language and culture. The Moroccan women I interviewed perform this role of cultural transmitters in a similar way. Rachida and Malika both have young children who speak Catalan at school. At home they speak to them in Arabic and express concern about the gaps in knowledge of their children's Arabic; '*si hablas en árabe hay muchas cosas de árabe que no sabe, y de catalán y castellano ella habla'* (if I speak in Arabic there are many things she does not know, she speaks Catalan and Castilian). Malika goes on to say that her lack of Catalan impedes her ability to explain things well to her children. By contrast, although Moroccan by birth, Laila

[48] Here Rachida is referring to the women's centre where we conducted the interview.

speaks Arabic, Catalan and Castilian at home and tries to avoid compartmentalising the languages, thus breaking with the private/public binary. However, along with the other Moroccan women, the home is a space to transmit Moroccan culture to her children and where they celebrate the different Islamic festivals. I asked her if she celebrated Ramadan and she replied: *'sí, sí, totalment, sí […] els meus fills, bueno, viuen en aquest ambient familiar'* (yes, yes, totally, yes […] my sons, well, they live in this family environment). These migrant mothers thus engage in 'cultural work' to instil self-esteem in their children and teach them about their origins (Erel, 2011; Kershaw, 2005). However, this cultural work can also extend beyond the confines of the home into the school space. The women explained:

Rachida: *si como tenemos una fiesta al cole me mandan "por favor me haces cuscús" vale voy haciendo cuscús, hacemos cuscús y hacemos=*

Malika: *=sí, tienes una fiesta del cole que las catalanas traen comida, las árabes traen comida de Marruecos (28/10/15)*

Rachida: if we have a party at school they ask me "please can you make couscous" ok I'll make couscous and we make couscous=

Malika: =yes, you have a school party and the Catalan women bring food and the Arabic women bring Moroccan food (28/10/15).

In this way, the school is an intercultural space for interaction and sharing of cultures. Another public space for social interaction is in the Catalan language classes that some of the women attend. Claudia, from Andalucía, told me:

> *es una clase muy multicultural o sea un racista allí no podría estar se moriría porque es que hay de todos los países un montón de lenguas y yo estoy muy a gusto porque aprendo muchísimo no solamente el catalán sino estar con la gente […] porque allí personas de todos los sitios y encima estamos aprendiendo una misma lengua entonces como wow! Er (1) allí cuando er (1) allí con las clases de Laia me gusta mucho mas el catalán.*

> it's a very multicultural class, I mean, a racist would die there because there are people from all different countries, lots of languages and I feel very comfortable there because I learn loads, not just Catalan but also being with the people […] because there are people from many different places and we are all learning the same language so it's like wow! Er (1) there when er (1) there, in Laia's classes, I like Catalan much more (Claudia, 27, 20/10/15).

Claudia celebrates the differences in her classmates and demonstrates that learning Catalan can help break down cultural barriers. Her final comment *'in Laia's classes, I like Catalan much more'* suggests she struggles elsewhere with her attitude towards the language. The classroom, where everyone else is also learning the language, is a safe space for her, where as a new arrival she feels more at home.

There are other public spaces, however, that inhibit integration. Whereas in the above example, Claudia felt comfortable in the migrant environment of the Catalan classroom, as we saw in section 5.2.3, when she attended the creative writing class in the village where the language choice 'marked the [national] territory' (Pujolar, 2010: 85) and her lack of competence in the language left her feeling excluded from this space. However, exclusion can occur for other reasons. Rocío is from Madrid and has lived in El Masnou for four years and has learned Catalan. Despite this, she only counts two Catalan women as friends. She goes on to explain that there are certain spaces in the village that are the exclusive domain of a certain type of Catalan women, and these spaces are marked by class:

> *Ten en cuenta que el catalán- yo mis amigos, er tengo dos amigas catalanas, dos, pero no en el círculo de mis amigos no son catalanas, viven aquí pero no son catalanes. Entonces, las catalanas son muy suyos, o sea, como te explicaría? Cuando te abren su puerta, si te la abren y eres su amigo ya para siempre. […] pero es muy difícil penetrar en el mundo de er de ellas porque tienen son también un*

poco si dentro de digamos que hay en todo El Masnou, hay grupos hay grupos de señoras estas que tienen un nivel económico muy alto y se mueven entre ellas en el Club Náutico y esos cuatro círculos muy cerrados, y en ese círculo no entras.

Bear in mind that the Catalan- me my friends, er, I have two Catalan (female) friends, two but no, in my circle of friends there are no Catalans, they live here but they are not Catalans. So the (female) Catalans are very much their own people how can I explain? When they open their door if they open it you'll be their friend forever […] but it is very difficult to penetrate into their world because they have they are also a little er if among what there is in El Masnou there are groups there are groups of these ladies that have a very high economic level and they frequent the Sailing Club and move in those four closed circles and in that circle you cannot enter (Rocío, 51, 22/10/15).

In her narrative, Rocío constructs a dual discourse: she has Catalan friends and praises the Catalan loyalty towards friends, however she also feels excluded from their circle and criticises their apparent 'uniqueness' of being 'very much their own people'. Reference to a different class of Catalan women adds another layer to this exclusion and this class line seemingly cannot be crossed. Another Spanish migrant, Matilde, originally from Gijón, has lived in Catalonia for forty years. She commented:

er yo me muevo en muchos ámbitos en Catalonia voy a conciertos voy a bibliotecas voy a parques de niños dónde están las magrebís? en los parques con sus niños pero luego yo no veo toda esta gente en ningún otro acto de la comunidad que no cuesta nada entrar no es un problema económico es un problema de que no han llegado a estar dentro de- ni creo que la sociedad catalana le interesa en general no le interesa mucho esa integración real y para mí lo básico esta en querer aprender del otro si esto no existe y es un favor que les haces y que- no.

I move in many different settings in Catalonia I go to concerts I go to libraries I go to children's parks where are the Maghreb women? In the parks with their children but I don't see these people in any other community function that is free to attend it's not an economic problem it's a problem that they haven't yet made it inside of-nor do I believe that Catalan society in general is interested in that real integration and for me fundamentally it's about wanting to learn about the other if this doesn't exist and you're just doing them a favour- no (Matilde, 63, 15/10/15).

Matildes's comments are corroborated by Roser, who, referring to the Moroccan women, told me '*aquestes mares han col.laborat amb la festa final, amb tot, eh, amb tot i d'aixo pero ha sigut l'unic ambit on hem coincidit'* (these mothers have collaborated with the end of year party, with everything, eh, with everything but it has been the only area where we have coincided). Although the migrant mothers share a mutual space at school with the other women in the village, it seems there are few other spaces where they meet. As we saw in the previous chapter, switching from Catalan to Castilian can act as a 'boundary maintenance' to exclude migrants (Woolard, 1989: 74). In a similar manner, Matilde perceives a boundary maintenance with regard to certain public spaces in the village habitually frequented by Catalans. This perception is echoed by other women and will be further discussed later in the chapter. Nevertheless, boundary maintenance can also work the other way. In the village there are other shops, small supermarkets, mobile phone shops or restaurants that have been opened in recent years by Chinese, Pakistanis or Moroccans. One women commented that whilst she buys from these shops, there is no reciprocity from the migrants:

> *yo no lo veo que vienen a comprar a las tiendas del barrio sin embargo aquí hay árabes que han abierto tiendas y nosotros vamos a comprarles a ellos eh sabes, y dices porque? Pero sin embargo tu notas que ellos compran er yo voy a comprar y yo no veo árabes comprando y aquí hay unos cuantas familias árabes.*
>
> I don't see them shopping in the neighbourhood shops but here there are Arabs that have opened shops and we go and buy from them eh you know? and you say why? […] er I go shopping and I don't see the Arabs shopping and there are quite a few Arab families here (Manuela, 57, 22/10/15).

Manuela considers it strange that the Arabs do not shop in the Catalan or Spanish shops in the village and her comments suggest a note of resentment:

the natives make an effort to mix but the migrants do not. In this way Manuela implies that shopping in the shops of 'the other' is a form of solidarity[49]. Two other spaces that are the exclusive domain of the Muslim population are the Halal butchers where the Muslim women shop for their meat: *'van a sus carnicerías'* (they go to their butchers) and the mosque. The mosque opened up a few years ago in one of the old parts of the village and became a space of social contention among the residents of the street.[50] Lídia explained:

> *hi han llocs que només estan ells i llavors els veïns diuen ah pues ara per exemple el carrer on visc jo hi ha una mezquita o sigui una casa que serveix de oratori i llavors ha hagut uns veins que diuen baixa el precio de los pisos porque estan alla no he anat mai jo pero sempre hi ha gent que si tenen gent així com estrangers […] perque ningu vol tenir una mesquita.*
>
> there are places where only they are, and then the neighbours say ah well for example on the street where I live there is a mosque well a place that serves as a house of prayer and some of the residents say it will lower the value of the flats. I've never been but there are always people that if they have people like that, foreigners […] because no one wants to have a mosque (Lídia, 67, 9/10/15).

Other women also commented on the locals' general hostility towards the mosque, which adds to the debate on the widespread opposition to mosques in Catalonia. Astor (2016) examines the issue from an aspect of group prejudice, and as one Catalan women remarked *'és dificil dir això però amb*

[49] Of course, there can be many other factors involved in choosing where to shop such as convenience or variety of food selection.

[50] A resident published an open letter in the local publication *Gent del Masnou* (People of Masnou) in, May 2014. He complained about the lack of permission, saying if anyone else '*obrís qualsevol tipus d'activitat sense tenir el permís corresponent de l'Ajuntament, de ben segur que ens el tancarien d'immediat, però es veu que nosaltres no tenim privilegis. Per què? Les lleis han de ser per a tothom iguals, o no?* (opened any type of activity without the corresponding permission from the council it would surely be closed down immediately. But it seems that we don't have the same privileges. Why? The law should be the same for everyone, or not?) He also condemned the fact that the water fountain in the gardens opposite the mosque was being used *for 'es renten la cara sinó també les dents, el nas i els peus, ja que, pel que sembla, han d'entrar al local nets'* (washing faces as well as cleaning teeth, noses and feet, as, it seems you need to be clean to go into the building) (Gent del Masnou, 2014).

col.lectiu és una cosa però si coneixes una persona sola islamica per mi és er m'és igual […] però tot un col.lectiu de gent, o sudamericans o romanesos, quan hi ha molts molesta' (It's difficult to say this but with a collective it's one thing but if you know just one Islamic person for me, er I don't mind […] but a collective of people, or South Americans or Romanians, when there are a lot they annoy you). This raises the question about whether Catalonia's welcoming discourse can extend from an individual to a collective level.

5.3.2 A divided village?

Due to the topography of the Maresme county being conditioned by the *Serralada Litoral* mountain range, El Masnou is a hilly village. In order to accommodate the arrival of the Spanish migrants, the new flats were built on what was then the outskirts of the village and are situated higher up towards the mountains approximately 1.5 kms from the old village and train station. Some of the women who live there explained that there was only wasteland between the flats and the border of the old village. In this respect, there was a clear physical distance between the two parts of the village, and thus a physical division between the natives and the migrants. As I noted earlier, the flats are known by everyone, young and old, as the *'els blocs'* (Catalan) or *'los bloques'* (Castilian) and, for the locals, the word carries connotations of class, immigration and exclusion. Manuela, who came to El Masnou at the beginning of the 1970s when she was 15 years old, explains what it was like:

> *todo eso era un descampado todas las calles estaban sin asfaltar eran todo de barro […] Esto era es un barrio de inmigrantes aquí la mayoría la mayoría de aquí son extremeños aquí hay mucha gente de Extremadura y de Andalucía también hay gallegos pero vamos que antes yo me acuerdo cuando venimos aquí esto era como si fuera lo*

llamaban la ciudad sin ley porque aquí no había nada no había nada, había tienda y todo pero siempre se quería el mejor para el barrio te digo porque no había er luces muy poca luz en la calle y todo barro. Es que antes todo esto-lo que es Pau Casal eso era era digamos era un camino de cabras era como una riera todo el agua cuando llovía y nosotros teníamos que bajar andando a trabajar.

this was all wasteland none of the streets were tarmacked it was just mud […] This was a neighbourhood of immigrants most of the people here are from Extremadura and Andalucía there are also some from Galicia I remember when we came here they called it the lawless city because there was nothing there was nothing there was a shop but we always wanted the best for the neighbourhood because there were no street lights and it was all mud. All this before where Pau Casals[51] is was a dirt track like a river, full of water when it rained and we had to walk down through there to get to work (Manuela, 57, 22/10/15).

Some of the women's narratives suggest that the flats were not even considered part of El Masnou. When I asked one of the older Catalan women, Agnès, about immigration in the village she first responded *'aquí nunca hubo'* (there was never any here), meaning there was none in what she considered to be the village – the old part of El Masnou. She went on to say:

si había eh en los bloques en los años 60 vinieron gente de nacional eh, mucha gente Yo lo sé que en los bloques era un sitio donde- aquí en el centro donde seguimos siendo - ahora pueden haber algunos pero seguimos siendo los de siempre pero los bloques fue el primer gueto que hicieron de la migración. Y por eso se llama la Almería la calle de no sé qué, la calle no sé cuántos. Porque eran de pueblos de allí […] allí arriba y era nada y los bloques aquello de los bloques allí no iba nunca tampoco es como otro Masnou.

yes there was in the 'bloques' in the 60s people came national eh lots of people. The 'bloques' was a place where- here in the centre is where we continue being- there may be some others now- but we continue being the same people as always but the 'bloques' was the first ghetto the migrants made. That's why the streets are called Almeria and whatever, because they were from villages from there […] up there there was nothing and the 'bloques', those 'bloques', I never went there either, it's like another Masnou (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15).

[51] One of the main streets leading from the *bloques* towards the village centre.

Agnès explicitly describes the flats as another village, a place where she never went, whilst the use of the demonstrative pronoun 'those' indexes a clear distancing and separation of two different spaces. Her comment about 'we continue being the same people' suggests an ethnic divide between the Catalans and the migrants. Another older Catalan women, Sílvia, who was born in the old part of the village, had a different viewpoint:

> *aquí la gent de fora que van venir es van ubicar tots aquí a dalt en els pisos aquests que van fer i per aixo deien els bloques i quan vaig comprar el pis d'aquí ay i allà a dalt t'en vas a viure? i bueno, i que? […] les amigues i gent ay a dalt t'en vas a viure diu bueno ay no sortiràs pas el carrer allí! i dic escoltem pues jo sorto eh, i no em passa res.*
>
> here the people from outside [Catalonia] that came all settled up here in these flats that they built and they called them the 'bloques' and when I bought this flat 'oh, up there you're going to live?' and so? […] my friends and other people said 'up there you're going to live, you'll never go out on the street there!' and I said, listen, I do go out, eh, and nothing happens to me (Sílvia, 67, 26/10/15).

I asked her why her friends questioned her going to live 'up there' and she said:

> *er el veïnat que hi havia pero mai he tingut problemes, al contrari, son gent molt solidaria i jo ho aprecio molt i aquí coneix molta gent.*
>
> for the residents that lived here but I've never had problems on the contrary the people show great solidarity I value them a lot and I know a lot of people.

The women's comments about the lawless city and the concerns about going out onto the street suggest the native residents from the old part of the village had a fear of the 'other' and made stereotypical assumptions. They had a mental image of the type of person who lived in the flats; they associated poor southern Spanish migrants with lawlessness. For some, this conception has passed to the international migrants as many of them also came to live in this part of the village. Originally from Ávila, Adelina has lived in the flats since a

young girl. She told me the people there do not like to see so many migrants because:

> *ahora se ve mucho mucho mucho romano mucha gente con carrito buscando en la basura. Yo lo vivo mucho porque yo trabajo por aquí en 2 torres al lado y los veo mucho buscando y esto me...hay mucho moro, mucho- que los ves, aquí hay mucho moro y son muy mafiosos no se integran […] claro hay de todo como en todos los sitios pero de los rumanos no me fio me dan miedo, porque los veo muy […] no, ellos van mirando y no sé.*
>
> now you see many many many Romanians lots of people with trolleys searching in the rubbish. I see this a lot because I work around here in two villas and I see lots of them searching and this makes me- there are many *moros*[52] and they are like the Mafia, they don't integrate […] of course, there are all sorts everywhere but I don't trust the Romanians they frighten me because I see them like- no, they have a way of looking, I don't know (Adelina, 59, 12/5/15).

Here Adelina clearly conveys a negative stance towards the international migrants. Although she attempts to support her argument with her personal experience of seeing the Romanians searching in the rubbish, her narrative suggests her mistrust of them and the Moroccans is based on hearsay. The same discourse of delinquency previously attached to class status of the national migrants is used to describe the poorer international migrants.

The perception of El Masnou as two villages continues today, despite the improvements in infrastructure. One of the Catalan women said that the physical divisions mean certain areas are *'poc conectats amb la vida del poble'* (unconnected with life in the village). She went on to say: '*penso que es continuan mantenint dos pobles […] no és no és el poble d'abaix'* (I think there are still two villages, it is not the same as the village down the hill). The

[52] *Moro* (f. *mora*) is a term used to describe people from the Maghreb. Although translated as *Moor*, in colloquial Spanish or Catalan it can be considered to be derogatory (Zapata Barrero, 2010).

boundary between the old and new areas of the village is a dominant discourse throughout the women's narratives but they also talk about ethnic concentration in other parts of the village. I asked one of the younger Catalan women if she thought the migrant population was integrated in the village. She replied:

> *jo crec que sí, crec que sí sí. Clar, aviam, potser fan alguns er potser fan més guetos però això no es tema de que nosaltres no los aceptem, no?*
>
> I think so I think so yes. Of course let's see, perhaps there are some that make more ghettos but that doesn't mean that we don't accept them, no? (Marina, 30, 23/10/15).

Marina's comment contrasts a negative portrayal of the 'other' (they make their ghettos) with a positive portrayal of 'us' (we accept them) (van Dijk, 2000). However, some of the older international migrant women I interviewed defended the migrants' residential concentrations. One woman *said 'creo porque se encuentran más arropados'* (I think because they feel more supported). Thus, aside from the economic reasons that often determine migrants' choice of location, ethnic enclaves can also be seen as spaces for companionship and mutual understanding in a familiar language. These spaces can bring relief from isolation and act as a network for accessing information (C. Nagel, 2009).

There was however, a sense of two separate migrant groups being defined in the women's narratives. The women from Mexico, Argentina or Columbia, regardless of how long they have been living in the village, belong to one group and the African migrants belong to another. Isabella, from one of the focus groups, is Argentinian. She has lived in Masnou for 30 years. She commented:

> *pero sí que hay mini mini guetos de de inmigrantes con lo cual pues que es lo que deduzco que no no es fácil er que les acepten gente de comunidades de vecinos si eres un extranjero muy evidente. O sea yo como extranjera puedo pasar desapercibida pero er la gente marroquí no por er a veces por el aspecto físico pero por la lengua inmediato, y los negros porque son negros.*
>
> there are mini mini ghettos of immigrants and I guess it's not easy to be accepted by the local residents if you're a very obvious foreigner. I mean as a foreigner I can go unnoticed but Moroccans, not always for their physical appearance but also for their language, and black people because they're black (Isabella, 66, 30/10/15).

Although Isabella describes herself as a foreigner, her narrative suggests she perceives a difference between being a foreigner and being a migrant. She does not consider herself a migrant, despite not speaking Catalan. Perhaps this is due to the length of time she has lived in the village but also because her physical features enable her to blend in more easily with the native population.

5.4 Culture

The final section in this chapter explores the cultural aspects of integration that are strongly associated with ideological space. Physical appearance, cultural practices and religion as elements of difference are salient themes in the women's discourse on integration.

The Citizenship and Migration plan makes constant reference to interculturality and promotes the interaction between different cultures and respect for diversity (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014). Virtually all the women, migrants and native Catalans alike, spoke about cultural differences. When discussing migrants, there were only a few comments about the male migrant population.

The focus was nearly always on the women migrants, with particular emphasis on their physical appearance.

5.4.1The headscarf and being Muslim

Out of all the different migrant groups the Catalan women discussed, they considered Maghreb migrants had the most difficulties integrating in the village and into Catalan society. Often situated within media and mainstream representations of Islam, the women's narratives seemed to measure the Moroccans against other migrant groups. There is widespread debate around the headscarf and its incompatibility with local cultures (Burchianti & Zapata Barrero, 2014; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2014) and its perceived violation of women's rights or threat to national security (Andreassen & Lettinga, 2012; Helbling, 2014; Joppke, 2013). In my data, some women from non-Muslim backgrounds considered the wearing of the headscarf went against the norms of civility. The headscarf was singled out as the most visible and marked element of difference that generates strong feelings:[53]

> *Jo ho sento es horrorós es horrorós veure una dona amb un mocador. Es horrorós que s'està en ple estiu amb una calor que et mors el home va en pantalons curts i la dona va totalment disfraçada d'abaix i dic així perque per mi això no es respecte.*
>
> I'm sorry it's horrendous it's horrendous to see a women with a headscarf. It's dreadful that in high summer with a suffocating heat the man is dressed in shorts and the woman is dressed up from head to toe and I say this because for me this shows no respect (Montse, 50, 6/10/15).

[53] In 2010, the council of the provincial capital of Lleida voted to ban the wearing of the burqa (full veil) from public buildings. Even though instances of the full veil are very rare, this act revealed the sentiment of the locals towards what they considered undemocratic codes of conduct (Burchianti & Zapata Barrero, 2014).

Montse's comments express her feelings that Muslim women are conditioned by normative or cultural practices of inequality that are not compatible with Catalan societal norms and this challenges her own values, implying that Muslim practices are deviant and creating a discourse of 'liberal us, illiberal them' (Burchianti and Zapata Barrero, 2014: 408). Agnès expressed a similar opinion: *me enfado muchísimo cuando veo a una mujer de estas tapadas así con el pañuelo […] pienso burras! Quita eso de encima!* (I get really angry when I see one of these women covered up with the headscarf […] I think idiots! Take that off!).

Many of the Catalan women make reference to Laila, the Moroccan women who works for the local council. In theory, Laila represents the image of the perfectly integrated woman. Her Catalan is perfect; she has the mannerisms, idioms and colloquialisms of a native Catalan. However, the other women always refer to her as '*una chica […] que es árabe, con su pañuelo'* (a girl […] she's Arabic, with her headscarf):

> *es magrebí habla castellano y catalán perfectamente, es funcionaria, er cuando trabaja le hacen quitarse el pañuelo pero cuando sale ella va con su pañuelo.*
>
> she's Maghreb she speaks perfect Castilian and Catalan she's a civil servant er when she works they make[54] her remove her headscarf but when she leaves work she puts on her headscarf (Bibiana, 30, 21/10/15).

Despite Laila's linguistic integration, she is still seen as the 'other' where her visible differences, her ethnicity and dress, are continually emphasised. These differences, that are also symbolic of cultural and religious differences,

[54] Bibiana is incorrect here when she says Laila is made to remove her headscarf. As I note later on, Laila has the constitutional right in Spain to wear her headscarf at work.

outweigh her linguistic integration, as indicated by the conjunction 'but' and suggests a type of group boundary demarcation that is drawn by the natives. As the in-group, the local population define the membership criteria to that group (Pehrson & Green, 2010). The Muslim women I spoke with are very aware of the mainstream representations of them. Malika told me about her experience: '*tienes gente aquí tienes mora, tienes pañuelo, sacar pañuelos, sacar este, si (xxx) idioma, que si habla o no'* (people here call you *mora*, they talk about the headscarf, tell us to take it off, talk about the language, if we speak it or not).

As argued by a number of feminists, the headscarf has many meanings and cannot be interpreted only as a religious symbol (Andreassen & Lettinga, 2012). In this respect, Laila completely rejects the positioning of the headscarf as an element of repression. She contests mainstream discourse and makes it clear that wearing the headscarf was a woman's own choice:

> *o sigui les dones diguem-ne de fet per ser dones estem discriminades dintre de la societat si ets er dona i a més a més musulmana ja eres la hostia, no? er doblement discriminada, si ets dona, ets musulmana i portes el vel ja eres triplement discriminada perque clar desgraciadamente s'ha asociat el vel a er com un elemento de repressión de la dona musulmana, no? o d'imposició per part d'un home, no? i crec que no, no es aixi, de fet avui en dia que es pot plantetjar de que una dona musulmana porta el vel perque algún l'obliga, no es perque es una decisió seva vull dir i madurada i pensada i ella la que acaba de decidir si ho porta o no ho porta i es lliure.*
>
> women let's say just by being women we are discriminated in society if you're a women and a Muslim then you're amazing, er doubly discriminated if you're a women, Muslim and you wear a headscarf then you're triply discriminated because unfortunately the headscarf is associated with er an element of repression of the Muslim woman, no? or an imposition by the man, no, I don't think it's like that I mean nowadays that you could consider that a Muslim woman wears a headscarf because they are made to, no, it's her decision I mean well

> thought through and she decides if she wears it or not and she's free (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

She went onto say that she had not yet considered wearing her headscarf to work and although the Constitution allows her to exercise that right, she said '*però segurament que el alcalde em trucaria'* (but probably the mayor would phone me). She feels that *'encara no hem superat aquesta fase, encara ens estem fixant en tots els adornaments decoratius que porta una persona'* (we have still not overcome this phase, we still pay attention to the decorative ornaments a person wears). However, despite this opposition, the Muslim women's narratives also show how they try to challenge negative discourse. Rachida explained:

> *Muchas palabras puede decir tú no estás aquí en tu país o porque vas con pañuelo quieres sacar el pañuelo tu estas un día er fui a mezquita y me estoy escuchando una mujer y me ha dicho ven ven y yo fui porque yo pensando vamos a preguntar de una cosa y fui y le digo que quieres y me ha dicho tú vas como una monja y yo no yo no monja mira una cosa, cada uno tiene su cómo se llama cada uno tiene su er religión dicho cada uno tiene su religión tú tienes tu religión, yo tengo mi religión, yo a ti estoy respetando mucho y tú también que me respectando a mí. Porque yo no soy monja yo también a monjas respecto a monjas porque están monjas y ya está.*
>
> Many words they say you're not in your country or why do you wear a headscarf, take it off one day I went to the mosque and a woman called me over I went over as I thought she wanted to ask me something. She said why are you dressed like a nun? And I said I'm not a nun look, everyone has their religion you have your religion I have my religion I respect you a lot and you should respect me. Because I'm not a nun I also respect nuns because they're nuns and that's it (Rachida, 34, 28/10/15).

Laila goes further:

> *ens haurem de començar ja a preparar perque estem tenint una generació que es molt forta de dones molt preparades que es posaren el vel per rebellió es poden anar preparant perque tu diga-li a una periodista de que no pot entrar perque porta el vel.*
>
> we have to start getting ready because there is a generation of strong very qualified women coming along who will wear the headscarf to

> rebel and they can start getting ready because try telling a journalist that she can't go in because she is wearing a headscarf (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

Laila begins by saying 'we have to start getting ready', later on she changes this to 'they have to start getting ready'. By contesting assimilation and the rejection of the headscarf, the women are establishing their presence in different contexts of the everyday and calling on the dominant society to become more tolerant of cultural differences.

5.4.2 Religion

Following on from this first theme, as shown, the headscarf carries strong cultural connotations, indexing ethnicity and Islam, a religion that is represented as oppressive and fundamentalist in Christian Europe (Andreassen & Lettinga, 2012). Muslim migrants are perceived as more of a threat to Catalan society than, for example, South American migrants who share the same religion (even though Catalonia is a very secular society. 'Religion' here is understood as a form of cultural heritage rather than an institution). As one woman put it '*depen de cada col.lectiu eh, depen molt perque la religió hi fa molt'* (it depends a lot on each group because religion makes a big difference). My findings show that the dominant negative discourse and stigmatisation of Islam impacts the women's narratives; one women made the remark '*si s'integren, cap problema, mentres que no s'ens facin jihidistes'* (if they integrate then no problem, as long as they don't turn us into jihadists). Moreover, these cultural clashes were believed to affect migrants' ability to integrate into Catalan society. Lourdes told me:

> *aquí som de viure i deixar viure hi han coses que molestan per exemple hi han er per exemple tu veus- hi han certs certs certs immigrants que s'adapten millor que altres, el que jo si veig es que per exemple els àrabs no volen i això si que molesta una mica. No volen perque bueno no sé, ells sabran suposo però penso que- el pitjor que hi ha en aquest mon son les religions. I aquesta gent esta sota una religió molt –.*
>
> here we like to live and let live, there are things that offend, for example, there are certain certain immigrants that adapt better than others, what I see is that the Arabs don't want to and that bothers me a bit. They don't want to, I don't know, they will know why I suppose but I think that the worse there is in this world is religion. And these people are under a religion that is very – (Lourdes, 61, 15/5/15).

Here, Lourdes constructs a negative stance against the Islamic religion and the Arabs. She is firmly putting the onus on the migrants to 'adapt' and she attributes their lack of adaptation to their religion. This example highlights the notion of integration being a one-way street, rather than a mutual process that is the premise of interculturalism. Bibiana has a young son who shares his class with Moroccan children. She accepts that her son has to 'grow up with everyone' and tells me 'I don't care whether they are *moro*, white, black, I really don't care'. She is very clear about religion though and there is a religious boundary that cannot be crossed. She said '*no hay ningún tipo de problema con nada mientras no se metan la religión que para mí eso sí que es un tema (.) potente'* (there's no problem with anything as long as they don't involve religion, that's a (.) potent issue for me). The issues surrounding religious diversity is a concern for the Muslim women also. One of them recounted a recent incident in her daughter's school:

> *ayer tener una hija del cole tiene una amiga catalana o y preguntas la hija dice porque tu tienes confianza con Dios le dice a la hija, este es mi religión de yo de Mohammed no hablamos con ella no hablamos con este dice la hija porque no tienes er como dice er no tienes confianza de Dios.*

> yesterday a friend of my daughter's at school asked her why she doesn't believe in God my daughter said her religion was Mohammed and the girl said we won't talk to her because she doesn't believe in God (Malika, 28, 28/10/15).

Malika's daughter was marginalised because of her religious beliefs and her story demonstrates how the mainstream discourse and negative attitudes towards Islam infiltrate and are reproduced in the school environment.

5.4.3 Values

Prejudice towards migrants often relates to the perceived threat they impose on a population's values (Hjerm & Nagayoshi, 2011; Sniderman et al., 2004). In this way, the host country's values are homogenised and is another example of boundary marking. The perception that migrants have different and opposing values was raised by a number of the women I interviewed. In this respect, migrants and their ability to integrate was frequently differentiated depending on their country of origin; *'si l'inmigració es europea, els valors son differents'* (if it is European immigration the values are different). Some of the women's narratives were produced as generalisations based on mainstream stereotypical discourses. For example, Beatriz spoke about a violent culture of drugs and guns associated with South Americans compared with the pacifist characteristic of the Catalans:

> *amb els de sud-Amèrica no tenim el problema del llenguatje però tenim el problema de que la vida o sigui el que val la vida allà es molt different el que val la vida aquí i amb lo cual els seus principis i els seus valors estan totalment desfasats vaya, o sigui a sud-Amèrica n'hi ha molta corrupció n'hi ha moltes drogues, molts guetos de bandes i es complicat perque et treuen una pistola amb res. Clar nosaltres no som així, no som violents.*
>
> with the South Americans we don't have a language problem but we have a problem that life or rather the value of life there is very different

> to how we value life here and so their principals and their values are totally outdated I mean in South America there is a lot of corruption and a lot of drugs lots of ghettos with gangs and it's complex because they'll pull out a gun for nothing. Of course we're not like that we're not violent (Beatriz, 48, 14/10/15).

Her evaluation of the South Americans reveals how she positions the Catalans and the 'others' as particular kinds of people and highlights the tactic of adequation and distinction. Beatriz uses the tactic of adequation to create an association between South American migrants and a drug and gang culture. By using the tactic of distinction, Beatriz suppresses any possible similarities between the two groups (speaking the same language), contrasting the Catalans' pacifism with the alleged violent character of the South Americans (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

Earlier, I noted that women were the focus of most discussion about migrants. However, there was one area where this focus shifted to men. There was one element of difference where opposing cultural values, typically expressed as sexist, misogynist values, were considered as a threat to the work women had done. There was a sense that men were less likely to try and integrate compared with women; *'hacen su vida y no quieren renunciar algunas cosas'* (they live their lives and don't want to renounce certain things). Women spoke of their concern that these distinct values could erase the work that women had done to gain certain rights. Women spoke of the *'cultures molt masclistes'* (very sexist cultures) that some migrants were bringing. Montse teaches in an adult education centre. She told me this is very salient in the environment she works in and described her fear of *'masclisme es torna a donar en aquests indrets'* (sexism returning to these places):

Tot el que hem guanyat nosaltres per un canto per altre estem retrocedint i s'esta veient ara la mesura que els fills van creixient alguns no, alguns s'adapten molt be i no hi ha cap problema però altres no.

Everything we have won on one side we are going backwards on the other and you can see it in the way the children are growing up, not all of them, some adapt very well and there's no problem but others don't (Montse, 50 6/10/15).

Roser echoed her sentiments, using almost the same expression:

ha hagut unes generacions de dones que han estat lluitant per uns drets i aquests drets s'han aconseguit i això ha costat molt er llavors el que el que sabria greu es anar retrocedint perque nosaltres n'ho ens han regalat, nosaltres h'ens hagut de guanyar.

there have been generations of women who have fought for certain rights and these rights have been achieved and this has taken a lot of effort so what would be awful is to go backwards because nobody gifted them to us, we have had to win them (Roser, 50, 14/10/15).

The younger Catalan women also commented on what they perceived to be the dominant sexist culture of the Arabic men. They were quite explicit about how they felt about Moroccan men and made negative evaluations when comparing with other migrant groups:

Estel: *i després per exemple amb els pakistanis jo no he tingut cap problema, persones de raza negre tampoc pero amb (.) amb er els musulmans et miran malament, o sigui, no malament, et miren d'una manera tan asquerosa que a mi això=*

Alba: *=i ja no inclós nomes miren, jo crec que hi ha casos que tela eh?*

Estel: *no et miren de la mateixa manera un negre que un musulman=*

Alba: *= son molt més machistes, molt més*

Gemma: *et dominen o sigui et poden dominar amb la mirada i això em fa molt de [fàstic*

Estel: *[ja, la dona es inferior allà=*

Paula: *=et mira pel carrer*

Estel: for example, with the Pakistanis I've not had any problem, nor with black people but with the Muslims, they give you a dirty look, I mean, not a dirty look, they look at you in a disgusting way and that I don't like=

Alba: =yeah, they don't just look, I think there are cases that you wouldn't believe, eh?

Estel: a black man doesn't look at you the same way as a Muslim=

Alba: =no,

no, they are much more sexist, much more

Gemma: they can dominate you with their gaze and that [disgusts me

Estel: [(xxx) women

are inferior there=

Paula: =they look at you in the street (1/11/15).

The above extract, from one of the focus groups, shows how perceived cultural difference can engender fear and mistrust. The women construct a negative stance towards the Muslims that once again establishes a 'good' migrant versus 'bad' migrant discourse. Their comments suggest that they felt intimidated by the Arab men and did not know how to read them. Estel's comment about women being 'inferior there' makes direct reference to perceived gender relations and echoes a previous comment made by Clara about the Moroccan women she used to deal with in her work in local government. Given the apparent lack of communication between the Catalans and Muslims, the young Catalan women's stance seems to be connected to wider sociocultural discourses of prejudice towards the Muslim population rather than from direct experience.

5.4.4 Cultural differences

Differences in culture are a salient part of all the women's narratives, relating to customs, food, or dress. In order to highlight the village's reluctance to accept diversity, one of the migrant women who arrived in the early 1980s from Argentina explained how a hotel project was rejected because they did not want foreigners in the village. She remembered how she felt when she first arrived and how her children stood out from the local children at school because of their dress:

> *Era un pueblo muy muy cerrado y era un bicho raro y mis hijos que fueron al colegio lo padecieron mas porque eran pequeños y mi hijo llego de Argentina que tenía 7 años camisa y corbata claro, aquí los niños-!*
>
> It was a very, very closed village and I was a weirdo and my children suffered it more at school because they were young and my son who was 7 arrived from Argentina with his shirt and tie of course, here the kids-! (Isabella, 66, 30/10/15).

At that time, the differences were even noticeable at a very micro-level between the summer visitors from Barcelona and the locals. Sara explained how '*se notaba en todo, la forma de vestir, la forma de hablar, las costumbres, no sé, er había mucha diferencia, había mucha diferencia'* (it showed in everything, the way of dressing, the way of talking, the customs, I don't know, er there was a lot of difference, a lot of difference).

When discussing the Spanish migrants, one Catalan woman recalled that *'esta inmigración, er se incorporó muy bien […] claro era el mismo país, también, y con las mismas cosas, y los mismos conocimientos de todo'* (this immigration, er it incorporated well […] of course it was the same country as well and with the same things, the same understanding of everything). However, despite

these comments about the cultural affinity, at the time the Catalan discourse towards the Spanish migrants was often very different. Some of the women spoke about the differences between the Catalans and the Spanish still persisting today. Roser explained:

> *que en el seu moment es va focalitzar en un barri diferent de Masnou que es allà dels blocs no? aquesta gent diguem en el transcurs dels anys doncs i que conserven les seves tradicions folcloriques o que sigui un predomini de la llengua castellana en aquesta zona de Masnou sí que es veritat que els fills s'han escolaritzat i són catalans evidentment i pero clar hi ha una er hi ha una diferencia.*
>
> at that time they were concentrated in a different neighbourhood of Masnou, up there in the 'blocs', no? These people, let's say, over the years have preserved their folkloric traditions I mean there is a predominance of Castilian language in that part of Masnou and although it's true that their children have been schooled and are evidently Catalans but of course there is a er there is a difference (Roser, 50, 14/10/15).

Thus, according to Roser, despite being schooled here and considered Catalans, the maintenance of their 'folkloric traditions' makes 'these people', the Spanish migrants, deviant, regardless of whether they speak the language. Lourdes is more descriptive about the folkloric traditions:

> *veig que els altres baillen Sevillanes i fem coses molt differents, tenim interessos molt differents [...] considero que sí que som una cultura different, Som dos pobles differents culturalment i de parla som diferentes no tenim els mateixos costums, no ens agrada el mateix. Aquí han prohibit els braus, amb ells es la fiesta nacional i jo no entenc mai com poden punxar el toro.*
>
> I see that the others dance *Sevillanas*[55] and we do very different things, we have very different interests […] I think we are a different culture, we are two different countries, culturally and linguistically we are different we don't have the same customs we don't like the same things. Here they have prohibited the bulls with them it's their national event I can never understand how they could stab a bull (Lourdes, 61, 15/5/15).

[55] A Spanish folk dance similar in style to Flamenco.

In the same way as Roser, Lourdes applies a clear dichotomy of 'them' and 'us' and defines the Spanish and the Catalans as separate national, and homogenous groups. In doing so, she can be seen using the tactic of adequation/distinction, foregrounding the in-group similarities and rejecting any similarities with the Spanish (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). She firmly distances herself from the other culture with her criticism of bullfighting. It is interesting to note that Lourdes uses *Sevillanas* and bullfighting, two very typical old Andalucian stereotypes of Spanish culture from the 1960s, as examples to make her point that emphasises the perception of a homogenous Spanish group sharing the same cultural practices.

When a migrant group do not follow the societal norms of the dominant group, they are considered deviant, and some out-group culture is deemed incompatible with the Catalan culture. As my findings have shown, the cultural differences of the Muslim women are particularly marked. These migrant women use the home to consolidate their own group culture and I have shown earlier in this chapter how they use the domestic sphere as a space to transmit their language. The Moroccan women told me how they teach other aspects of their culture to their children and explain the different food they eat:

Malika: *si en casa hablamos con el idioma del árabe, y esto y hablamos con el idioma del árabe, dicho no este de español este mi decir yo esto es árabe, esta religión estas cosas como carne no comer carne de español comer carne de los árabes y cosas hablamos en casa y a veces me dice porque no comer carne de castellano, no?=*

Rachida: *=sí porque es halal, [esto*

Malika: *[sí porque este halal y este no, me dice ah vale*

Malika: yes at home we speak in Arabic, I say this is not Spanish, I say this in Arabic this religion these things like meat we don't eat Spanish meat we eat Arabic meat, and things we talk about at home and sometimes they ask me why don't we eat Spanish meat?=

Rachida: =yes, because this is halal, [this

Malika: [yes because this is halal and the other isn't and they say ah, ok (28/10/15).

However, when I asked Rachida if her son had any issues at school, she told me:

> *er mi hijo como preguntar al cole dicho porque tu no comes carne, porque tu no comes er pollo. Y dice mira yo tengo alergia y acabamos aquí sabes dicho yo tengo alergia y come pollo o carne me rascas y es mejor esto que no vamos a sabes, no entramos con problema ni nada.*
>
> er my son they ask him at school why don't you eat meat why don't you eat chicken? And he says, I'm allergic, and that puts an end to it you know I'm allergic and eating chicken or meat makes me itch and it's better like this you know, that way we don't have any problems or anything (Rachida, 34, 28/10/15).

I showed in an earlier example how Rachida is willing to defend her culture and religion herself when confronted. Nevertheless, she prefers to avoid problems for her son at school, perhaps to reduce the visible cultural differences of his diet between him and his classmates in order to avoid marginalisation of the kind that Malika's daughter suffered when questioned about her religion.

The Moroccan women's narratives suggest a sense of exclusion despite the long-standing rhetoric of Catalonia being an open, welcoming and tolerant society, traits that are perpetuated in the media and political discourse (Gore, 2002). Catalan integration policies stress the need to accept diversity, whilst being very vague as to what this actually means, but making it clear that it

should conform to the Catalan societal norms (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014). Thus any (perceived) differences to these norms produce a distancing between the in-group and the out-group(s). This sentiment is expressed in the women's narratives:

> *veus la manera de fer ells que no és la manera de fer teva i clar sents com un ja com una mica de rebuig sense ser intencional pero hi ha un rebuig perque ells no estan fent o no s'acopolan a la teva manera de viure […] hi ha una part de la població que si que s'adapta aqui però hi ha un altre part de la població que no es vol tampoc adaptar a viure er no se com dir-ho a viure clar no tenen perque viure com nosaltres perque cada un és lliure de viure com volgui, no? però er hi ha normatives per la societat que tu si vas a un altre país pues tu intentes cumplir-les o fer-les perque és l'estil de vida d'aquell país.*
>
> you see how they behave isn't your way of behaving and you feel a little rejection, it's not intentional but there is a rejection because they don't behave or they don't adapt to your way of living […] there is a part of the population that does adapt here but there is another part that doesn't want to, I don't know how to say it, of course they don't have to live like us as everyone is free to live as they want, no? But there are societal norms that if you go to another country you try to comply with because it's the way of life of that country (Marta, 51, 10/5/15).

Whilst Marta acknowledges diversity, the differences in the 'way of behaving' implies that opportunities for mixing with the other group are limited. Some of the more recently arrived Spanish migrant women took a more accepting approach. This example shows how Rocío, from Madrid, positions herself as a sort of arbiter between the Catalan and Moroccan women:

> *Se integran entre ellas están entre ellas er a ver la marroquí es una mujer que bueno yo me llevo muy bien yo tengo dos compañeras allí en el camping que han sido compañeras mías de trabajo y cuando los veo yo las abrazo y las beso y yo me llevo fenomenal con ellas pero er yo creo que se relacionan entre ellas más, o sea, que son su círculo. No las ves tomando un café con catalanas esto no existe. No puedes ver tú fácilmente en una cafetería claro ver una marroquí sentada con su pañuelo al lado de una señora catalana tomándose un té, pues no, esto no ocurre. Entonces, integración entre comillas, pero no sé creo que no es solo por parte de ellas sino por parte de las catalanas también.*

> They integrate among themselves let's see the Moroccan woman is someone-I mean, I get on very well with them there are two women at the campsite that were my work colleagues and when I see them I embrace them and kiss them and I get on fantastically with them but er I think that they only mix with each other I mean that is their circle. You don't see them having coffee with the Catalan women, that doesn't happen. In a café, you're not likely to see a Moroccan women with her headscarf having a cup of tea next to a Catalan lady. So, "integration" up to a point but it's not just up to them it's up to the Catalan women as well (Rocío, 51, 22/10/15).

Again here we see a complex three-way narrative of 'us-them-those' where Rocío evaluates the social practices of both the Moroccan and Catalan women. She believes that the Moroccan women only mix with each other, whilst quickly qualifying that she gets on really well with them. She goes on to suggest that the same would not happen with a Catalan woman and finally attributes the lack of integration to both groups. The headscarf is again seen as an integral part of Muslim women that highlights their ethnic difference and becomes an apparent barrier to integration. Perhaps because of this perceived barrier the Muslim women do not seek out friendship with the native population. One Moroccan woman, Rachida, told me that she had a Spanish friend but later in the conversation she showed me photos of her friend and said: *'hacemos comida con mi amiga. Esa amiga es ahora musulmana, española y me encuentro musulmana, una marroquina y una musulmana! bueno volviendo musulmana'* (I make food with my friend. This friend is now Muslim, she's Spanish and I find a Muslim, a Moroccan and a Muslim! Well, converting to a Muslim). Rachida and her Spanish friend therefore share the same values and beliefs. When I asked Laila if she had Catalan or Spanish friends she replied '*sí, jo tinc amigas catalanas i amics catalans com jo d'origin marroqui vull dir, sí'* (yes, I have Catalan friends like me, that is to say of

Moroccan origin, yes'). I could not ascertain if her friendship group was her choice or because the natives marked their territory as far as intimate relationships are concerned. However, despite being integrated into the everyday life of the village through her work and children, Laila's social life is situated in a different sphere of integration, where Laila is integrated as part of a Moroccan community. Limited contact with the in-group could lead to a position of exclusion for some migrant women, although as Entzinger & Biezeveld (2003) argue, it is common to find different spheres of integration, and migrants can feel comfortable and more integrated in one particular sphere.

5.4.5 Class

As we have seen, migrants from different origins are perceived in different ways. Distinctions can also be made between migrants from the same country of origin or ethnicity and these distinctions often seem to be articulated through the cultural and economic aspects of class. Referring to the post-war Spanish migrants, one woman told me they were '*gent d'una categoria inferior és com que els situava la societat i el que digui que no és mentida'* (people of a lower class, that is how they were positioned by society and whoever denies that is lying). There is comparison of the present-day international migrants with these Spanish migrants:

> *como cuando vinieron los españoles aquí a Catalonia que también eran los que menos podían vivir claro, pues buscaban la vida en otro sitio. Entonces, cultura o er conocimientos era justito la cosa pues ya los que te vienen extranjeros a lo mejor ahora, también.*

> like when the Spanish came here to Catalonia they were also the ones who were less able to live, so they tried to make a living somewhere else. So, they didn't have much culture or er knowledge well the foreigners that come now are maybe the same (Clara, 74, 28/5/15).

The migrants have less means and as such are viewed as inferior, conflating lack of economic resources and ethnicity. This can lead to stigmatisation and 'the immigrant, the religious, the racial, and the socioeconomic disprivileged other all tend to coincide' (Casanova, 2007: 61). Belén recounted some of the children's discourse at her son's school: '*les oigo comentarios que "fíjate que zapatillas lleva fulanito, no puede llevar zapatillas así". Yo creo que dan por hecho que como es marroquí tiene que vivir peor'* (I hear them making comments like "look at those trainers that whatshisname wears, he can't wear trainers like that". I think they take it as given that because he is Moroccan he is poor).

On the other hand, according to Luisa, there is the impression that a more educated migrant can adapt and any discrimination stems from their poverty rather than racism. She argued that a Moroccan neighbour who is a doctor gives the impression of 'adapting' more than one who lives on benefits, suggesting that one's cultural background matters less if you have more cultural or economic capital. Manuela made the point with this pithy remark:

> *si son moros o moros o pakistanís lo que sea es igual porque si eres pobre eres un moro, pero si eres rico eres un árabe que eso también la diferencia.*
>
> if they're Moroccan or Pakistani, whatever, it doesn't matter, because if you're poor you're a *moro*, if you're rich you're an Arab, that's the difference (Manuela, 57, 22/10/15).

We can read into these narratives a status boundary between natives and migrants where the natives define what constitutes a 'good' migrant whose capacity to integrate is attached to their social class. Educated migrants are more integrated into Catalan society and their cultural differences become less visible; *'com si estiguin er com mes propers'* (as if they were closer to us) in terms of being more culturally similar. As Mireia comments *'hi ha gent de differents nivells d'inmigració, els que estan mes ben vists, els que no, els que sí els podem aceptar però aquells no els deixen pasar'* (there are different levels of immigration, those that are well-considered, those that are not, those that we can accept but those who we won't let in). In this way, the group boundary demarcation is applied based on these distinctions of class.

5.5 Tolerance, charity and ignorance of the other

Tolerance is part of the political discourse in Catalonia when discussing immigration. Catalonia is presented as having a long history of immigration and of being a tolerant, heterogeneous society with a distinct identity in contrast to the less tolerant, homogenised Spanish society (Kleiner-Liebau, 2009). As noted in the introduction, integration policies focus on the civic elements of integration and stress the need for 'tolerance of culture and diversity' and the interaction between migrants and the host society (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014).

Notwithstanding the cultural differences I have discussed earlier, many of the women I interviewed considered that overall the village was tolerant and accepting of the migrant population. Josepa explained that certain migrant

families know they can rely on the locals to pass on clothes for their children when the seasons change. Similarly, Marisol felt that the locals were always willing to help:

> *yo pienso que en El Masnou la gente es bastante permisiva, bastante eh? Les dan trabajo si hacen ayudas que la mayoría que van a Caritas son ellos y y la gente colabora […] Yo pienso que a veces cuando se conoce a las situaciones y todo de la gente que tienen alrededor siempre le echan una mano.*
>
> I think that in Masnou people are quite permissive, quite a bit eh? They give them work the majority of those who go to Caritas are them and people collaborate […] I think that when people are aware of the circumstances then they always lend a hand (Marisol, 51, 13/5/15).

Although Marisol's intention was to present the people of the village in a good light, her comments construct a perception of the migrant as an inferior class needing help, whereas, as the dominant in-group, they are in the position to be accepting and charitable: they give the migrants work; when called on they donate to charity. Solidarity and charity however do not constitute integration or interaction between different groups. In this respect, many of the women expressed concern about the lack of knowledge of the other and considered this central to achieving a more integrated society: '*si la gente conoce y se deja conocer pues da pie al que no hay tantos prejuicios'* (if people get to know each other then it wouldn't give cause for so much prejudice). Alicia concluded that prejudice stems from fear and ignorance:

> *La gente muchas veces todo lo que las protestas esas es por miedo y el miedo es por ignorancia por falta de conocimientos del otro. Porque tú no creo que nadie que conozca a otra persona que que es de fuera aunque sea de una cultura totalmente diferente a la tuya cuando la conozca de verdad quiera algo mal para esa persona.*
>
> A lot of times all these protests are due to fear and the fear is because of ignorance lack of knowledge of the other. Because I don't believe that anyone who gets to know another person who is foreign even though they may be from a totally different culture from yours when

> they truly know them, could wish anything bad on that person (Alicia, 63, 27/10/15).

Gabriela, from Colombia, described how she has often been at the receiving end of this ignorance. Whenever she went back to Columbia, people would ask her '*¿cuántos kilos vas a traer de droga?'* (how many kilos of drugs are you going to bring back?). These stereotypical comments were put down to lack of knowledge of the other:

> *la gente er es muy (.) inculta no ((risa)) o quizás ignorante porque siempre a veces dicen lo que dicen otras personas […] pero nunca se toman la molestia de de saber de lo que están hablando y entonces creo que son un poco ignorantes.*
>
> people are very (.) uncultured ((laughs)) or perhaps ignorant because they always say what other people say […] but they never take the time to understand what it is they are talking about, I think it's because they are a little ignorant (Gabriela, 31, 19/5/15).

Hence, knowledge of the other through social interaction plays a key role in cultural integration, and different forms of social participation can help to blur the edges of the in-group and out-group(s) (Rutter, 2015).

5.6 Conclusion

The landscape of Catalonia has been altered by years of migration. The village of El Masnou has been geographically and socio-culturally impacted by the migratory movement. I have explored in this chapter the complex and nuanced discourses of migration and integration. My findings show that there is often a mismatch between the official integration policies that promote interculturalism and respect for diversity and the women's everyday practices in managing the changes migration brings and their understanding of the integrated other. There is a tension between, on the one hand, the welcoming face of the village

and the internalised understanding of Catalonia as a *pais d'acollida* (welcoming country), and on the other, the notion of a closed community, as noted by some of the women, of both Catalan and migrants alike. One of the older Catalan women, Josepa, explained that some of the locals thought '*tant be que estavem que ens coneixiem tots'* (how good it was when we all knew each other). But then she went on to express a more open, civic perspective, understanding the migrants as citizens making a contribution to Catalan society: *'però, ens hem de obrir, i la gent ha de venir i també ajuden a la seva manera també ajuden, també treballen'* (but we have to open up and people have to come and they also help in their own way, they also work).

Undisputedly, speaking the language of the host country is important for communication and helps to empower migrants, but other economic, social and cultural aspects of integration need to be considered. However, the 'immigrant' label when referring to Spanish migrants, even second generation migrants, still persists and raises the question of whether integration can ever be successful or indeed what integration means. The tolerant and welcoming traits of the Catalan people, dominant in the mainstream media and political discourse, are echoed in many of the Catalan women's narratives. Nevertheless, the discourse of integration could be understood as a hierarchy of othering with the Catalan women as the hegemonic group. Some of the women's evaluations of 'good' and 'bad' migrants, differentiating between 'us-those-them' and the expectation that the onus is on the migrant to learn the language and assimilate to the Catalan culture undermines the welcoming discourse and could be considered an everyday 'naturalised othering'.

Immigration challenges the notion of who we are and in their narratives the local women defend their ideologies and identities when they feel their values and culture may be threatened. For the local women, given their past history of linguistic and cultural repression perhaps this is not surprising. For the migrant women, there is evidence of an attempt to defend their culture and values and this could have the long term potential to change the natives' views about their particular out-group. The notion of cooperation between groups, and less of the 'one-way street' as described by Ana may be one interesting alternative to integration. Nonetheless, the women's understanding of integration and how they negotiate (or not) the barriers to achieve it are broad and complex. An intersectional approach has been central to explore the complex interconnecting discourses of ethnicity, gender, language, culture and class that a simple native versus migrant binary alone could not achieve. The next chapter will analyse how some of these discourses of ethnicity, language and culture translate into discourses of identity.

Chapter 6

DISCOURSES OF IDENTITY

sempre tot el que implica com en el cas de la identitat catalana o de la llengua catalana doncs tot el que implica una lluita pel reconeixement i pels drets doncs creu identitat.

everything that implies, as is the case of the Catalan identity or the Catalan language, then everything that implies a fight for acknowledgement and for its rights creates an identity (Laia, 48, 16/5/15).

6.1 The social construction of identities

This chapter explores the construction of identities through discourse and analyses how social, cultural and ideological contexts may influence these constructions. I explored in the previous chapter how some of the native Catalan women expressed fear of the threat of different cultures imposing on their own Catalan culture. I continue with this theme although I will go further and examine the discourses of identity. I will analyse how the women construct their identities as Catalans, as migrants and as transnationals.

My understanding of identity is grounded in a social constructionist approach that argues that our knowledge and ways of understanding the world are constructed through interaction with others (Burr, 2003). We construct our identities through this interaction with the social world. The social constructionist perspective on identity views identities as fluid and dynamic and historically, contextually and discursively produced through language (Wodak et al., 2009). Identity is relational and therefore it is through the

construction of difference, the 'relation to what it is not' that identity is constructed (Hall, 1992: 4). Identity is also multi-dimensional and the diverse identities we perform intersect in many different ways (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Following Bucholtz and Hall (2004, 2005) and also Irvine and Gal (2000), I draw on the sociocultural linguistic principles and indexicality and stance taking as analytical tools to explore the construction of the women's identities in the interviews.

The women's discourses of identity can be mapped onto the three-part space paradigm. Simmel (1997) argues that 'we create our identities through locating self in space and claiming ownership of spaces' (Simmel, 1997, cited in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). In what follows, semiotic displays of identity such as flags, national buildings and food relate to physical and ideological space. The findings show how the women's discourse creates an imagined community in the ideological space that is also reproduced through national identity, linguistic space and history. Temporal space is created again through historic events and ancestry as well as through transnational and hybrid identities.

The chapter is divided into three parts, beginning with a discussion on discourses of language and identity. This is followed by representations of national identity and finally, transnational identity. In what follows, I will analyse the dominant discourses the women use in their interactions. In doing so I will demonstrate that Catalan and other forms of national and transnational identity are far from homogenous and the way women position themselves – the

stances they take – in line with or against particular identities is context-dependent.

6.2 Language as identity marker

I previously explored the women's perspectives and attitudes towards the Catalan language in chapter four. In this section I will look at language in terms of identity, in particular, ethnic and national identities and show how once again ideological and physical spaces are reproduced through language practices and how this ideology may also be linked to historical forces found in the temporal space.

Language is important in the construction of identities and serves as more than just a way of expressing ourselves (Burr, 2003). The centrality of language as an identity marker has been, and continues to be, a source of theoretical and empirical debate (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Edwards, 1985; Fishman, 1972; Joseph, 2004). As I have already mentioned, in many studies on nationalism, language is considered a 'marker of inherited ethnic identity' (Lytra, 2016: 133) and one of the key elements in the creation of a national identity. In contrast to the constructionist perspective of identity construction, an essentialist viewpoint considers language and ethnicity, along with other identities such as gender or class, as fixed categories (Joseph, 2004). However, others view language as a social construction. For example, Heller (2007: 2) sees language as a 'set of resources […] whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organisational processes, under specific historic conditions'. This enables us to examine how

individuals use language to construct their (and others') identities in their social practices. In my analysis of the women's narratives, it is important to acknowledge the historical, social, political and cultural forces that shape these identities, language use and ideologies (Lytra, 2016).

6.2.1 Who claims a Catalan identity?

The importance of preserving the Catalan language during the Franco regime was explicated in chapter four. Indeed, as Woolard (2016) argues, the significance of the language as an identity marker played a fundamental role in its preservation. A definition of Catalan identity, formulated in the 1960s by Jordi Pujol, president of Catalonia from 1980-2003, is the well-known and much-cited phrase *'és Català tothom qui viu i treballa a Catalunya'* (everyone who lives and works in Catalonia is Catalan) (Guibernau, 2004). This phrase was used in the campaign for the referendum on the Statute of Autonomy in 1979. As stated by Woolard (1989), this slogan and others such as *'Ara més que mai, un sol poble'* (Now more than ever, one single people) was an attempt to overcome the ethnic and linguistic divisions brought about by the previous years of national migration and create a group identity. On this point, as seen in my findings in chapter five, some of the women considered that in the early years of the transition the people in the village were more concerned about rebuilding a democracy than who spoke Castilian or perfect Catalan.

Nevertheless, according to Boix Fuster (2014: 165), the language 'identifies the territory' for many Catalan speakers and earlier studies found that speaking Catalan laid claim to being an authentic Catalan (Woolard, 2005).

Despite the Catalan government's apparent leaning towards a more civic view of Catalan identity, current Catalan education policy states the importance of the language as part of the collective identity and character of the Catalans. In a recent publication discussing the plurilingual model of education, the role of Catalan as marker of identity was emphasised, although as discussed in chapter five, the term 'common language' is used here in place of the particularist 'own language':

> *Però sobretot consolida la llengua catalana com a llengua comuna, d'identitat i de convivència en la societat, com a dipositària de la nostra particular visió del món i com a instrument per reflectir i expressar la nostra personalitat col·lectiva.*
>
> *But above all, to consolidate the Catalan language as a common language, of identity and societal cohabitance, as a keeper of our particular vision of the world and as an instrument to reflect and express our collective personality* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015: 75).

The text does not define what the Catalan 'vision of the world' is nor its 'collective personality'. It implies all Catalans share the same vision thus creating the notion of a homogenous Catalan society. These policies play a part in establishing what Blommaert (2006: 244) terms an 'ascriptive' Catalan identity which is expressed through an individual's language use that is often attributed by state education systems that establish policies that are based on monolingual ideologies (ibid.). As the following analysis will show, the women in my study do not all share the same world vision and construct and negotiate diverse identities which may be shaped by historic, political or socio-cultural factors.

6.2.2 Ethnolinguistic identities

We have explored in the previous chapter how some of the Catalan women talk about the differences between a native and non-native speaking Catalan. As Clara, one of the Catalan women remarked when discussing migrant children speaking Catalan: *'yes but they are still from their country'*. And Rocío, originally from Madrid noted: *'aunque sepas Catalán, eres guiri'*[56] (even if you speak Catalan, you're a foreigner). This highlights the way language can be strongly attached to identity in an essentialist way that positions the Catalans and their language as different. This thinking can be compared with Bourdieu's (1991) idea of language legitimacy where he argues that linguistic competence does not imply legitimacy (see also Blommaert, 2010 and Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In other words, the notion of legitimacy is attached to the native speaker. Who can claim linguistic authority is framed by an individual's beliefs and ideologies about a particular language, which, as previously discussed in chapter three, is grounded in the ideological structures of authenticity and anonymity introduced by Gal and Woolard (2001).

The notion of authenticity in the Catalan context stems from the revival of Catalan culture during the *Renaixença* (Renaissance) period of the late 19th century which sought to re-establish the prestige of Catalan through literature and poetry (Balcells, 1983). During the transition to democracy, re-establishing Catalan as a linguistic authority was a central objective of the Catalan government. In the 1979 Statute of Autonomy, the Catalan language is

[56] The term *'guiri'* is a colloquial expression for a foreigner. Depending on how it is used it can have a perjorative tone.

described as the *'llengua pròpia'* (own language), suggesting an authenticity of a language that belongs to a people and this notion was applied in the Catalan language policies of the 1990s (Branchadell, 2012). However, as previously discussed in chapter five, in order to avoid constraining its use among non-natives, this particularist vision of Catalan as a local language was later avoided in language policies and campaigns in an attempt to reduce this ethnolinguistic approach (ibid.). The *Generalitat*'s press release for the 2005 *Dona corda al Català* (Wind up Catalan) campaign announced it was the 'first campaign of global reach, directed towards general society' and had as its objective the 'natural, every day, unimposed use of the language' (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005, n.p.). This showed a shift from the particularist approach of *'llengua pròpia'* (own language) to a more inclusive '*llengua pública comuna'* (common public language), a term also employed in recent educational publications as shown earlier in the chapter (Branchadell, 2012: 6).[57] Nonetheless, from the extract in the Citizens and Migration Plan 2016 shown in chapter five, the term *'llengua pròpia'* is still being used in Catalonia's integration policies. Similarly, in my findings, Laia, who is a Catalan language teacher and passionate about normalising the use of Catalan, still used this term when she said: *'Catalunya és una nació i té una identitat, una història, una cultura i una llengua pròpia'* (Catalonia is a nation and has an identity, a history, a culture and its own language). Laia's discourse reflects the authorisation tactic of intersubjectivity whereby she aligns herself with a hegemonic ideology to legitimise her own ideologies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

[57] Branchadell (2012) and other scholars have noted that the shift to promoting Catalan as a 'common public language' could be considered a direct copy and paste exercise from Quebecan language policies.

In her narrative, language takes on an ethnic symbolism that reflects the Catalan education policies discussed earlier and exemplifies that after years of promoting Catalan as a '*llengua pròpia'*, this discourse still persists. Laia's work as a teacher means that she is in daily contact with the government discourse on the importance of the language. Nevertheless, her word choices demonstrate the effectiveness of the government nationalist discourse that resonates with a particular native-speaking population and indexes their political ideologies. Laia comes from a Catalan family with strong separatist values. There are other such examples in my findings. Roser told me:

> *nosaltres ja ho saps és molt important la llengua. La llengua jo crec que és el nervi com entorn, no? [...] cada país te el seu el seu element diferenciador i: i el nostre jo crec que és la llengua. I aquí, t'ho han volgut suprimir t'ho han volgut aniquilar i d'això et fas qüestió, [...] tema que he pensat moltes vegades quins són els elements diferenciadors en les cultures en la nostra jo crec que bàsicament és aquest, com articular de la nació entesa er al com països catalans eh és la llengua.*
>
> you know for us the language is very important. I think the language is the backbone of our community, no? […] every country has its differentiating element and: and I believe ours is the language. They have tried to supress it, they have tried to annihilate it and that makes you question […] it's something I've thought about a lot what are the differentiating elements in cultures and in ours basically it's this, how to articulate the whole nation, as the Catalan countries, it's through the language (Roser, 50, 14/10/15).

Roser was raised in a family with similar values as Laia's family and clearly considers language as an identifying element of the nation. It is interesting to note that she uses the expression 'the backbone of our community' which can be compared with a very similar expression used in a speech by the then Catalan president, Jordi Pujol in 1995 when he described the importance of Catalan as *'el nervi de la nostre nació'* (the backbone of our nation) (Pujol, 1995: 174).

Another native Catalan woman, Maite, considered that the Catalan language made her *'part d'un colectiu de persones'* (part of a collective of people). When I asked her why the language was important to her, she responded*: 'perquè és el que sentim, ho sentim, i forma part de la nostra anima, no? del nostre ser!'* (because it's what we feel, we feel it and it forms part of our soul, no? of our being!). Maite expresses an attachment to a collective, suggesting a homogenous group and, again, echoing Catalan political discourse. All these discourses imply a strong essentialist understanding of language as a marker of a national identity, a view first introduced by Herder in the 18th century (Mar Molinero, 2000). Moreover, they clearly index a naturalised Catalan identity that demonstrates the concept of authenticity as described by Woolard whereby it

> locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. That which is authentic is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential Self (2005: 2).

A final example of ethnolinguistic identity that further demonstrates this naturalised way of understanding the Catalan language is seen in the following narrative from Mercè:

> *ja ens estan lligant d'una manera er amb la cultura, amb l'idioma i amb la manera bueno de pensar no, perquè això el pensament és lliure però amb l'idioma és el pitjor que poden fer en un país. [...] És la identitat del poble perquè és clar tot el altre tot el altre tot el que es tema econòmic convencerà i farà posar en contra la gent que no és molt molt molt catalana però en els que som catalans catalans que estimem l'idioma el pitjor és treure la seva arrel.*
>
> they're trying to impose on us somehow er with culture with language and with the way we think well maybe not that because thought is free but with the language that's the worst thing you can do to a country […] it's the people's identity because of course all the other all the other all the financial stuff will convince some and make those who are not very very very Catalan turn against them [the state] but those of us who are Catalan Catalan who love the language it's the worst thing they could do – to pull up their roots (Mercè, 61, 19/5/15).

Here Mercè implicitly refers to the Spanish government as 'they'. She evokes a sense of belonging to Catalonia and its language and the use of the metaphor 'roots' suggests the notion of a natural, ancient people. She differentiates between those who are 'not very, very, very Catalan' and the authentic Catalans and insists the 'others' cannot have the same love of the language as those who are 'Catalan, Catalan'.[58] Mercè's discourse highlights Bucholtz and Hall's (2005: 601) authentication and denaturalisation tactics of the relationality principle. She implies that many people who follow the current pro-secessionist movement are not proper Catalans and do so for economic reasons rather than for a love of Catalonia. In this way, Mercè constructs a strong defensive stance towards the authentic group of Catalans. She asserts her belonging to this group with her comment *'those of us'* thus framing her own identity as authentic and in a sense establishing a hierarchical order of authenticity. These findings demonstrate the complexity of ethnolinguistic identity, which can be interlinked with individual ideological stances and also with class. As previously shown, Catalan was the language of prestige spoken by the native middle-class population and any Spanish 'immigrant' speaking it would often be associated with working-class status.

6.2.3 Bilingual/multilingual identities

Some of the women I spoke with portrayed less of an ethnolinguistic attitude towards the language and held a pragmatic view of bilingualism or

[58] Ortega et al. (2015) found similar attitudes towards authenticity in their study of new Basque speakers. Speaking Basque did not automatically confer a Basque identity.

multilingualism. In this respect, we have already seen in chapter four how one of the Moroccan women, Laila, performs a multilingual identity in the home and a bilingual identity outside the home.

Born in Barcelona, Sara is bilingual and attests that she does not strongly identify with Catalan because her mother tongue is Castilian (although as shown in chapter four, this is not a given as the mother tongue does not always become the preferred language choice). Although Sara places a lot of importance on Catalan as she chose to speak it to her children, she told me she does not support the essentialist concepts of the language as others do:

> *no me he visto nunca yo en la obli- er con el sentimiento de defender el catalán porque como soy castellanoparlante pues […] es que claro ese sentimiento de identidad de la lengua catalana no la tengo en cambio hay personas muy próximas a mí que lo tienen pero yo no pero porque no lo tengo porque como mi idioma materna es el castellano […] hablo perfectamente catalán y pienso a veces en catalán y me gusta también hablar en catalán igual que me gusta hablar en castellano pero combino las dos lenguas porque ya te digo porque como mi lengua materna es castellano tampoco quiero renunciar a ella no sé, no he renunciado en ningún momento mi lengua materna.*
>
> I've never been obli- er had the feeling I needed to defend Catalan I'm a Castilian speaker and so I've never had this sentiment of identity towards the Catalan language, although people very close to me do, but I don't, why? because my mother tongue is Castilian I speak perfect Catalan and I think sometimes in Catalan I like to speak it just as I like to speak Castilian and I combine both languages but as my mother tongue is Castilian I don't want to renounce that either, I don't know, I've never renounced my mother tongue (Sara, 49, 9/5/15).

Similarly, when I asked Diana, another Catalan women, if her language marked her identity she replied:

> *Home d'alguna manera sí, no? però és que jo també parlo castellà i jo també penso en castellà. Bueno però aviam, que per una llengua s'hagi de dividir un país tampoc.*

> Well yes it does somehow but I also speak Castilian and I also think in Castilian. But, I mean let's see a language shouldn't divide a country either (Diana, 58, 20/10/15).

Diana alludes to an imaginary division of the region between Catalan and Castilian speakers whereby it is implicitly understood that separatists are Catalan speakers and unionists are Castilian speakers. This contrasts with the early aims of the Catalan government during the transition to erase the apparent linguistic and cultural divisions of two distinct communities with their unifying slogans *'som un sol poble'* (we are one people) (Woolard, 1989). The government's objectives of a united people can also be compared with Mercè's division of Catalans that I discussed earlier as she explicitly creates a hierarchy between different levels of Catalan authenticity.

In an attempt to understand Sara and Diana's perspective I compared them with the other women that expressed a more ethnolinguistic approach to the language. Sara and Diana are middle-class native Catalan speakers. Sara's father was Catalan and her mother was from Valencia and at home the common language was Castilian although she speaks Catalan with her children. Diana's parents were both Catalan and spoke Catalan at home. They are both from a similar generation as Laia, Roser and Mercè yet their narratives suggest that the language does not define their identities in the same way. One factor that differentiates these women is the overt political ideology of their families. Both Sara and Diana told me that politics was not something that was discussed at home whereas the other women, in particular Laia and Roser, come from politicised families with a strong Catalanist ideology.

One of the younger Catalan women, Bibiana, has Andalusian parents and like some of the other women, also considers Castilian to be her mother tongue:

> *yo tengo familia andaluza, no? yo estoy muy orgullosa muy orgullosa de tener dos idiomas (.) y yo er aunque me expreso mejor en castellano porque mis padres me han hablado en castellano y ya está pero si hubiera sido en catalán pues en catalán er: yo por ejemplo me encanta que aquí en los colegios solo sea de catalán por ejemplo claro esto quieras que no sí que constituye pues una cierta identidad, no? Mas que nada que te separa que te diferencia bueno te diferencia del resto.*
>
> I have an Andalusian family, no? I'm very proud very proud to have two languages (.) and although I express myself better in Castilian it's because my parents brought me up in Castilian and that's it if it had been in Catalan well, in Catalan er: for example I love it that here the schooling is only in Catalan of course whether you like it or not this does constitute a certain identity more than anything it separates you it differentiates you well, it differentiates you from the rest (Bibiana, 30, 21/10/15).

However, despite Bibiana's positive view of bilingualism, she understood that speaking Catalan constitutes being different 'from the rest', defined as the rest of the Spanish population. As Diana states in the previous extract, Bibiana notes that 'more than anything it separates you' and for her it seems that this separation refers to a unique linguistic identity. The discourse of difference will be explored further in the next section.

Although there is a pattern in my data whereby native Catalan women generally positioned themselves in line with an ethnolinguistic identity, as I have shown, this is not always the case and a particular upbringing may influence individual perspectives. The migrant women who discussed this topic on the whole appeared to have a non-essentialist view towards language and its place as an identity marker. In her recent book, *Singular and Plural*, Kathryn Woolard (2016) concludes that whilst Catalan maintains its position

as a language of prestige, there is a shift in Catalan language attitudes from an ethnolinguistic identity to an anti-essentialist approach to the language. Woolard conducted an ethnographic study of teenagers at a school in the Barcelona area and compared the findings with her earlier 1989 study. She also returned to interview a small group from her previous study to explore how their attitudes towards Catalan may have changed. My findings reveal insights into language attitudes that at times contradict Woolard's findings and demonstrate that essentialist views of ethnic identity still persist. Woolard does not look at the effect of new migrants in any detail, and, as I demonstrated in chapter five, it is in this area where essentialist attitudes often surface in my study. However, language is not the only marker of identity. As one of the younger Catalan women stated: *'al final la llengua és un pilar, saps, però hi ha molts més factors, només la llengua, sinó per mi és tot, és la gent'* (the language is a pillar, you know, but there are many other factors, not only the language, for me it is everything, it's the people).

6.3 Imagining the Other: Constructions of national identity

> *Jo penso que som un altre poble. Aviam a mi sempre que m'han dit gent que em diu 'tu que te sientes?' yo soy primero catalana y después para papeles española, porque me toca así! Mai m'he sentit espanyola. Mai.*
>
> I think we are a different people. Let's see people have always asked me 'how do you feel?' First I am Catalan and afterwards for paperwork I am Spanish because that's how it is! I've never felt Spanish. Never (Lourdes, 61, 15/5/15).

National identity is just one of the multiple identities that define an individual (Smith, 1991). Like other identities, it is fluid and it exists in a dialogic relationship with an 'other'; it can only exist through the construction of difference, as the following analysis demonstrates. National identity is reproduced in ideological and physical spaces through semiotic displays of identity found in flags, national institutions as well as culinary practices.

I have examined in the previous section the different attitudes towards language as a marker of authenticity and my findings show how some of the women regard language as central to their national consciousness. However, as the final quotation highlighted, a Catalan identity can be constructed through discourse in diverse ways. Lourdes was born in Gràcia, a popular neighbourhood of Barcelona well known for its cultural activities and especially its *festa major* (Saint's day) celebrations. She began her interview with the words: *'jo sóc filla de la Vila de Gràcia'* (I am a daughter of the Vila de Gràcia), asserting her familial ties and close sense of belonging to a particularly Catalan neighbourhood. One of the younger Catalan women, Mireia, also began her interview with a strong statement of her origins:

> *Sóc d'una família molt catalana per part de pare i mare el meu avi: va estar a la guerra va ser a la quinta del biberó[59] va lluitar contra el exèrcit nacional o sigui jo he mamat això.*
>
> I'm from a very Catalan family from both my mother's and father's side, my grandfather was in the war he was part of the *Quinta del Biberó* he fought against the national army I mean this is what I've been breastfed (Mireia, 31, 21/10/15).

[59] The *'Quinta del Biberó'* can be roughly translated as the 'Babies' Bottle Draft'. Towards the end of the civil war, a weakened Republican side needed to recruit more men. Young men who were barely 18 years old were conscripted. They were ill-equipped and with very little training fought in the bloody Battle of the Ebro, which resulted in the highest number of Catalan mortalities of the whole civil war (Cardona & Losada, 2004).

Discourses of descent and birthplace are often used to lay claim to a Catalan identity (Woolard, 1989). A sense of origin is emphasised by both Lourdes and Mireia and they index their authenticity through references to their ancestry or birthplace, as I showed in chapter four when some of the women legitimised their nativism through their family trees. It is interesting to observe how both women in the above examples use the symbolism of motherhood in their narratives. I have discussed previously how historically the nation has been gendered feminine (Yuval-Davis, 1997). The metaphorical description of *Gràcia* as a mother and being breastfed Catalan history perpetuate the notion of woman as nation as well as evoking a strong sense of rootedness and belonging. Similarly, another of the older Catalan women, Josepa, constructs her national attachment on a very local level, again through the discourse of descent and birthplace. The nation is indexed by the street where her grandparents and her parents lived and where she was born and still lives:

> *jo sóc catalana sóc del meu carrer en tinc un orgull molt molt er estic contenta er d'haver nascut aquí [...] jo estic contenta de ser catalana d'haver nascut aquí, de la manera de visc també estic contenta el meu carrer on vaig viure, on vaig néixer, er és un orgull per mi.*
>
> I'm Catalan I'm from my street I'm very very proud er I am very happy to have been born here […] I am happy to be Catalan to be born here I like my way of life my street where I was born, it's a source of pride for me (Josepa, 79, 2/11/15).

She went on to say:

> *per la festa major er nosaltres adornem aquest carrer i passa tot el poble pues, hi ha molts que tot i parlar català ja però saps que són de de de fora d'aquí.*
>
> during the village festivals er we decorate this street and the whole village passes by well there are many that although they speak Catalan but you know that there are not from here.

The street where Josepa lives is well known in the village. The residents decorate it for the village's Saints Day festivals and at Christmas. As Quiroga (2014: 686) notes, 'it is at the local level where the nation crystallises' and Josepa's dialogue conveys the importance of maintaining the traditions of the village for her and thus evokes a national identity through local history and sense of continuity. A shared history unifies members of a collective but it is this perception of unity that also draws boundaries between 'us' and 'them' (Bell, 2003). According to Josepa, some of the people that go to admire the decorated street may speak Catalan but 'they are not from here' and therefore not part of the imagined Catalan community.

6.3.1 Discourses of difference

As discussed in previous chapters, the Catalan government's linguistic immersion campaigns during the 1980s and 1990s promoted a civic approach to Catalan identity based on the concept of *ius linguae*, whereby anyone speaking Catalan is considered to be Catalan, in contrast to a primordial *ius sanguinis*, based on descent and ancestry (Boix Fuster, 2014). Some of the women's narratives contradict the national discourse and consider 'the myth of common descent' (Yuval-Davis, 2011: 20) to be central when considering who can claim to be Catalan. Like Josepa, Cristina expressed an almost primordial ideology towards who can be defined as Catalan and her discourse reveals the relationality principle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Cristina reifies her own identity to authenticate it and dismisses 'other Catalan identities' as illegitimate:

> *Soy catalana catalana y las que sus padres no nacieron aquí son catalanas pero no es lo mismo. No lo digo como separatista pero no tienen la misma cultura.*
>
> I'm Catalan Catalan and those *(f)* whose parents weren't born here they're Catalans but it's not the same. I'm not saying this as a separatist but they don't have the same culture (Cristina, 65, 6/5/15).

This dialogue of 'us' and 'them' repeats itself throughout the interviews in diverse contexts as I have shown in other chapters. Here there is an emphasis again on ancestry: *'mis padres catalanes, abuelos, tatarabuelos, bisabuelos, todos catalanes'* (my parents [were] Catalan, grandparents, great-great grandparents, great grandparents, all Catalans). In Cristina's narrative, the importance of temporal space can be seen; time delimits the 'in-group' from the 'out-group'. Cristina seems to perceive her Catalan-ness as more authentic than a second generation Catalan because their lack of ancestors – the time they have been living in Catalonia - means they cannot share and understand the same culture. As Lourdes noted: *'ho vius, no? a casa'* (you live it at home, no?):

> *ho vius, no? a casa pues anem o de vegades muntem excursions una colla d'amics i tots cap a la muntanya o a buscar bolets que dius? que cosa més tonta buscar bolets! ((risa)) no sé tenim coses d'aquestes no? O ens agafem de fer pinya per fer les torres dels castells els castellers.*
>
> you live it at home, no? Sometimes as a group of friends we organise excursions to the mountains or go wild mushroom picking and you say what a silly thing to do! ((laughs)) I don't know, we have these things, no? Or we all get together to make the towers of the *castells*[60] the *castellers* (Lourdes, 61, 15/5/15).

[60] *'Castells'* (castles) are human towers. *'Castellers'* are the people that form the tower. This Catalan tradition dates back to the 18th century and is a prominent part of Catalan culture. The *castells* are built during local festivals and Saints Days and several competitions are held between different groups throughout the year (Beumala & Bertran, 2011). The tradition was inscribed on the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010 (UNESCO, 2013).

Lourdes talks about very traditional Catalan activities that are inculcated at home; in this way the home is not only a physical space but also ideological; this is where the cultural transmission begins. Her discourse alludes to a conscious sharing of a distinct culture. The 'we' in Lourdes' dialogue does not just refer to her family and friends. When she says 'we have these things' or 'we all get together' she is referring to the whole Catalan imagined community who 'do' traditional Catalan activities. The tradition of going on excursions dates back to the early 20th century and is an iconic activity of the Catalan nation; indeed 'going on excursions was to undertake Catalanism […] and going on excursions meant going to "the land" and that land was Catalonia' (Marfany,1995: 292 cited in Dowling, 2013: 66). Lourdes' narrative demonstrates the tactic of adequation (Bulcholtz & Hall, 2005) that can be seen in other women's discourse. For example, Marta spoke about how she did not identify with Spain or the Spanish people. She said *'em sento més europea que espanyola no em diu res dir ser espanyola […] la majoria er de la manera que pensen molts espanyols er (.) no m'hi veig reflectida'* (I feel more European than Spanish, it doesn't mean anything to me to say I'm Spanish […] most of er the way most Spanish people think er (.) I don't see myself like that). Marta's 'European' discourse reflects a common Catalan discourse that historically has claimed Catalonia to be more progressive than the rest of Spain (K. Nagel, 2009). Thus, European-ness is understood to index modernity in contrast to a backward Spain.[61] It could be argued that this

[61] The ex-President, Jordi Pujol, frequently made reference to the ancient link between Catalonia and Europe: *'Catalunya és l'unic poble d'Espanya que neix lligat a Europa... Nosaltres, país de marca carolíngia ficat en el cor mateix del mediterrani occidental […] hem estat sempre fidels a aquesta doble vocació europea'* (Catalonia is the only part of Spain that was born tied to Europe […] We, as a part of the Carolingian empire, positioned in the

desire to be seen as ‘European’ is at odds with the intercultural values promoted by Catalan government policy as it creates a different layer of exclusion of the ‘non-Europeans’.

A similar discourse was implicit in one of the younger women’s narrative; she also saw herself as very different from the rest of the Spanish population:

> *jo hi ho he vist molt quan quan vaig estar d'Erasmus que vaig conèixer a molta gent espanyola i molta gent de Madrid i i sí que ho he notat molt jo. Jo vaig fer amics d'espanyols però és que em veia molt diferent a ells de la manera de pensar de la manera de fer les coses [...] no acabava de empatitzar tant com potser vaig empatitzar pues en gent de Catalunya, no se perquè però no sé que dir-te però tenen idees molt diferents a les nostres [...] em veia diferent a ells era com tio vivim els dos a a a o sigui a Espanya i em veig molt diferent a tu i llavors jo crec que si hi ha diferència amb això. I si, bueno si ja m'imagino si te'n vas al sur d'Espanya o és que jo crec que hi ha diferència a tots el punts diferents però jo crec que si un català és diferència d'un altre, d'un altre individuo d'Espanya.*
>
> I saw it a lot when I was on Erasmus and I met a lot of Spanish people and a lot of people from Madrid and yes I have noticed it a lot. I made Spanish friends but I saw myself as very different from them the way of thinking the way of doing things […] I didn’t completely empathise the same as I would with people from Catalonia I don’t know why but they have very different ideas from us […] I saw myself as different and it’s like we’re both living in I mean in Spain and I see myself very different from you and I think there’s a difference with this. And yes, I’m sure if you go to the south of Spain so there will be differences in all the different places but I think a Catalan is different from the others from another individual from Spain (Estel, 23, 1/11/15).

Estel’s narrative also implicitly indexes a modern, European identity against the ‘Old Spain’. Whilst Estel accepts that there are diverse people living throughout Spain, she takes an ethnocentric stance when she considers the Catalan people are somehow more distinct than other individuals. In this way

heart of the Western Mediterranean […] we have always been faithful to this double European vocation) (Pujol, 1993: 8-10).

she essentialises a particular 'Catalan' national identity that portrays the Catalan people as one homogeneous entity.

Nevertheless, there is more than one national identity and self-identifying as Catalan does not imply an endorsement of the Catalan national project. Some of the women constructed a Catalan identity but did not attach to it a strong ethnic ideology. Diana explained about attending a creative writing class: *'vull treure coses de mi i jo amb el que sento és en català'* (I want to express things about myself and what I feel is in Catalan), but she went on to say:

> *jo em sent molt espanyola [...] però clar un flamenc que vulgui pues cultivar la seva llengua saber-la conèixer-la er conèixer pues l'història, pues això em sembla que és el que ha de ser però això no treu que tu puguis ser pues jo que se holandés o jo que se com després com a espanyola jo i després europea i després el món és una estructura no veig jo tanta remarcació i a més en un món tant er tant cosmopolita i tan plural no, això és com una mica l'idea és com una mica contradictòria, no?*
>
> I feel very Spanish [...] but of course a Flemish person who wants to cultivate their language know it know the history, well that to me is how it should be but that doesn't take away from you being well, I don't know, Dutch or I don't know, like me being Spanish or then European and then of the world I don't see such a big difference and especially in a world so er so cosmopolitan and so plural, no? It's like it's a bit of a contradictory concept, no? (Diana, 58, 20/10/15).

Diana conveys a dual Catalan-Spanish identity and although she feels her thoughts are best expressed in Catalan, she does not consider it necessary to define one identity over another and rejects what she considers are narrow-minded views. As May (2012: 222) argues, linguistic identities 'need not be constructed as irredeemably oppositional'. One of the younger Catalan women also constructs a dual Catalan-Spanish identity:

> *potser per exemple el fet de que si er jo que vaig al meu poble a Sòria er jo defenso que sóc catalana i potser a Catalunya defenso que també sóc española.*

> perhaps for example the fact that if er I go to my village in Soria er I defend that I'm Catalan and maybe in Catalonia I defend that I am also Spanish (Gemma, 23, 1/11/15).

Although Gemma was born in Catalonia, her parents are from a village in the province of Soria (which she describes as 'my village'). The dual identity of Catalonia's population has been debated since the arrival of the Spanish migrants in the 1960s (Balfour & Quiroga, 2007) and Gemma's discourse suggests her identity is shaped by her family's origins. It is also context-dependent and shifts depending on her location. If Catalonia is taken to be a nation, her feeling of belonging to the two places could also be considered transnational. The construction of transnational identities will be discussed later in the chapter.

6.3.2 Culture, history and myth

As noted earlier, in part our identities are created by locating ourselves in space and claiming ownership of certain spaces (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). In what follows, I will show how the women claim ownership of physical and ideological spaces through attachment to national institutions and semiotic displays of national identity.

Anthony Smith (1986; 1991) emphasises the importance of myths, symbols and historical memories as the foundation of national identity. Many of the women's narratives contained references to Catalan history and its cultural symbols. As discussed in chapter two, two important symbols of Catalan identity are Barcelona Football Club and the *Palau de la Música*, the Catalan

Music Palace, home to the *Orfeó Català*, the Catalan Choral Society. Both of these institutions were closed down during the dictatorship (Dowling, 2013) and since have become part of the symbolic landscape of nation building (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). One of the older Catalan women, Mercè, sang in the choir and was taught by the founder's son, Lluis Millet. She recounted a story that Millet's wife had told her:

> *durant la guerra que el seu marit se'n va tenir que anar a la guerra i li va dir- ells vivien a dintre del Palau- diu cuida'm el Palau, clar, ella em deia que el futbol club Barcelona i el Palau de la Música van ser les dues entitats que Franco va fer tancar culturalment i per això està com tot lligat, en el fons hi ha coses d'arreu que són importants perquè en el futbol sempre es veu la bandera catalana i tot això i igual la gent ara ni ho sap però en el fons aquestes coses surten a dins i el Palau clar la gent del Orfeó no va deixar de cantar mai sempre es van anar trobant a cases particulars igual els que llegien poesia, els escriptors tota aquesta gent o va marxar o els que es van quedar aquí es trobaven d'amagat i per això mai es va perdre el sentit català aquí.*
>
> during the war her husband had to go to fight and he said to her-they lived inside the *Palau*-he said look after the *Palau* for me, you see, she told me that Barcelona football club and the *Palau de la Música* were the two cultural institutions that Franco shut down and that's why it's all sort of connected, deep down there are roots that are important because at football matches you always see the Catalan flag and maybe it's because people don't know about it but deep down these things are carried inside. Those who read poetry, the writers, all these people, or they left or those who stayed held clandestine meetings and that's why the Catalan sentiment has never been lost here (Mercè, 61, 19/5/15).

Mercè explains the emotional attachment felt by the Catalans that is connected to their history and the will to defend their culture. The binary public/private sphere can be seen here: the men go to war to fight for their country and the women stay at home and defend the nation's culture. Again the use of the metaphor 'roots' symbolises the origins of a people with a shared history and culture. As noted earlier, this discourse orients towards the notion of temporal space relating to the length of time they have lived in Catalonia and also to the

physical spaces of Catalan national institutions that become 'official imaginings' of national identity (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 7). This discourse also highlights the partialness principle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Those people, the 'others' who do not have a family history in Catalonia, who do not understand the broader historical context of the Palau or the football club, are not part of this culture and therefore are not able to understand these sentiments. Other women also discussed the national importance of cultural elements from Catalonia's past. Beatriz, mistakenly, explains the story of the Catalan national hymn, *Els Segadors* (The Reapers):

> *llavors l'himne de de Catalunya quan et diuen d'un cop de fals és perquè els segadors o sigui, quan va haver-hi la guerra civil, quan va haver-hi aquí la República aquí no n'hi havia exèrcit no n'hi havia res tu saps que tenien per defensar-se? les fals per segar per això l'himne és 'bon cop de fals defensors de la terra', la gent no ho sap.*
>
> so the Catalan hymn when they talk about a strike with the sickle it's because the reapers or I mean during the civil war, when the Republic was here there was no army there was nothing do you know what they had to defend themselves? Sickles to scythe that's why the hymn says 'good strike with the sickle, defenders of the land' and people don't know this (Beatriz, 48, 14/10/15).

Beatriz' recollection of history is incorrect as the Reapers War took place in the 17th century and was a revolt by Catalan peasants against the Spanish Monarchy. However, she uses this example from history, or myth, as a way of legitimising Catalonia, and revindicating its persecution over hundreds of years, a topic also raised by two of the older women I interviewed. They explained how people took to the streets in the 1970s on 11th September, Catalonia's national day, to demonstrate:

Clara: *ya el 11 de septiembre, ya decían aquello del estatuto, er como decían? […] aixo, llibertat amnistía y estatut d'autonomía*[62] *eso decíamos. Y porque claro no había libertad aun estábamos en régimen, y siempre se ha sentido Catalunya como mal tratada de siempre=*

Elisenda: *=pero no ahora eh, de siglos.*

Clara: on the 11th September they already said all that about the statute, er how did it go? […] that's it freedom, amnesty and statute of autonomy, that's what we said. And because, of course, there was no liberty, we were still under the regime, and always Catalonia has felt badly treated, always=

Elisenda: =but not just now, eh, for centuries (28/4/15).

Here, Catalonia is conceived as a person who has been badly treated. Like Beatriz, Elisenda and Clara's recollection of past events is inaccurate as this particular demonstration took place in February, not September. However, the importance of *La Diada*, Catalonia's national day and its symbolism of the Catalans fight for freedom of expression is significant and over the last five decades many demonstrations have taken place on 11th September. Although the women's interpretation of history may be confused, all these historical events are important in the collective memory of the Catalan people. As I have discussed previously, there are numerous debates surrounding memory and its relevance in making sense of past events. As Luisa Passerini (1979: 84) argues, the representation of culture is central in recollecting the past;

[62] The slogan '*Llibertat, Amnistía i Estatut d'Autonomia'* (Freedom, Amnesty and Statute of Autonomy) relates to demonstrations held in Barcelona in February 1976 to demand the release of 400 political prisioners and to reinstate the Catalan Statute of Autonomy. The demonstrations were both prohibited by the central government and are considered by some to have been pivotal in impulsing the beginnings of the transition to democracy (Ballester & Risques, 2001). 'Freedom, Amnesty and Statute of Autonomy' was originally the slogan for the 1932 Statute of Autonomy (Guibernau, 2004).

therefore our memories not only include the actual happening but also our 'ideology and sub-conscious desires'. These women's narratives reflect the political and social discourse of the time and the people's desire to free themselves from an oppressive Francoist regime. Elisenda shows how she takes a stance against the Spanish with her comment *'but not just now, eh, for centuries'* making reference to the current political differences with the central government and the myth of the 300 year struggle for independence that has become a constant presence in mainstream discourse.

Another important symbol of national identity is the flag; the colours of a flag act as a visual code to index an identity (Shortell & Krase, 2010). The flag signifies 'the metaphoric kin group of the nation' (Eriksen, 2007: 3) and flags therefore can also be exclusive and create boundaries. Before 2010, it was unusual to see the *estelada*, the unofficial pro-independence flag, in everyday life. The official Catalan flag, the s*enyera* is flown on all official buildings. On local holidays, or on *Sant Jordi*, (Catalonia's patron Saint Day), some people would hang the *senyera* from their balconies. Following the resurgence of secessionism, the *senyera* and particularly the *estelada* are now ubiquitous in all towns and villages throughout the region.[63] Controversial discourse surrounding the flag was prominent at the time of some of my interviews. During the municipal election campaign in May 2015, hundreds of town hall buildings across Catalonia were flying the *estelada* instead of the *senyera*. The *Junta Electoral Central* (Central Electoral Board - JEC) ordered the removal of

[63] In September 2014, at the height of the campaign of the referendum for independence, I photographed approximately 150 Catalan flags in just 4 streets in the old part of the town. This demonstrates how the meaning of space can be changed by the people, creating a collective identity (Krase & Shortall, 2011).

the flags during the campaign as they were considered partisan and *'incompatibles con la obligación de neutralidad de los poderes públicos'* (incompatible with the neutral obligations of public offices) (Piñol, 2015).[64] A number of women raised the subject of the flag. Here we can identify some clear differences between the Catalans and the migrant women. References to the flag and its significance as an identity marker were made by nearly all the Catalan women who discussed the flag. One of the women I interviewed had hung an *estelada* on her balcony; this symbolic resource being a performative display of her identity and her political stance. The day I interviewed Lourdes she told me the flag had disappeared and she considered it had been stolen by her 'Castilian' neighbour. She said: *'pues ara si m'ho han pres posare dos. És que és tot tan ridicul. Volen la crispació [...] Sí que sento gent que diu 'esto es España' però van així, van a buscar que ens enfrontem*' (well if they've taken it I'll put two there. It's so ridiculous. They try to provoke tension [...] I hear people say 'this is Spain' and they're just trying to get us to fight'). The partisanship issue raised by the JEC is considered a provocation by the Catalans against the Spanish central government. However, in her narrative, Lourdes reverses this thinking and considers the removal of the *estelada* a provocation by the Spanish. As stated by Eriksen (2007), the more a particular identity is challenged, the more intense the emotion invested in a flag and the more it is displayed.

[64] On a visit to El Masnou in the summer of 2016, I noticed that the Spanish flag had been removed from the collection of flags flying above the Town Hall, although it had not been replaced by the *estelada*.

Any references made to flags in the interviews were unprompted by me and came from women of different ages and origins. Estel, from the young women's focus group told me:

> *Estel: si jo veig una bandera espanyola no em sento gens identificada*
>
> *I: I amb una bandera catalana?*
>
> *Estel: la catalana sí, estelada i catalana, clar.*
>
> Estel: if I see a Spanish flag I don't identify with it at all
>
> I: and with a Catalan flag?
>
> Estel: the Catalan yes, estelada and Catalan, of course (1/11/15).

To begin with, Estel's Catalan identity is constructed against a Spanish identity, indexed through the Spanish flag. The *estelada* is a strong marker of Catalan nationalism and separatism and Estel's reference to it and her remark 'of course' indexes her own political ideology. However, another woman from the group disagreed. As mentioned earlier, Gemma has been raised in a Castilian environment as both her parents are from outside Catalonia. Once again here she explains how she identifies with both Spain and Catalonia:

> *a veure a mi m'agrada molt el sentiment nacionalisme que té Catalunya m'agrada molt potser no er valoro er jo considero que Catalunya és la meva terra pero jo per exemple amb l'estelada no m'hi veig identificada per res em veig igual d'identificada amb la bandera catalana que amb la bandera espanyola igual.*
>
> let's see I really like the Catalonia's nationalist sentiment perhaps er I value er I consider that Catalonia is my territory but I don't identify with the estelada at all I identify with the Catalan flag the same as I do with the Spanish flag the same (Gemma, 23,1/11/15).

References to flags made by migrant women were critical of its nationalist symbolism. Ana, from Madrid, discussed the future of Catalonia and remarked: *'el futuro espero verlo conjunto la verdad, me daría mucha pena que se*

separara porque no creo en (.) en en banderas, la verdad, creo en las personas' (I really hope to see a united future, a separation would make me very sad as a I don't believe in (.) in flags, truly, I believe in people). Manuela, an Andalusian migrant from the 1970s, expressed the same sentiment:

> *a ver estamos abriendo fronteras y ahora vamos a cerrar una frontera yo creo que la independencia, no, tendrían que llegar a un acuerdo para que fuera o que tuviera digamos como por ejemplo tiene el País Vasco que tiene muchas mas cosas cedidas que Catalunya pero yo en principio no creo en la bandera! Si la bandera solo hace que desune a la gente y crea otro territorio diferente.*
>
> I mean, we're opening frontiers and now we're going to close one, I don't believe in independence, they should reach an agreement like for example the Basque Country who have many more things than Catalonia but to begin with I don't believe in the flag! The flag just separates people and creates a different territory (Manuela, 57, 22/10/15).

I have shown here how the flag is used as a metaphor for the nation, taken up by some of the women and renounced by others. Both Ana and Manuela are Spanish migrants and their narratives suggest that they do not identify with any particular territory. Instead they view flags as divisive symbols and a form of boundary-marking.

6.3.3 Spanish migrant women and identity construction

I discussed previously in chapter four the lack of Catalan language skills of the Spanish migrant women who arrived to Catalonia in the 1960s and 1970s. However, despite not mastering the language, these women, and newer migrants, embrace other forms of Catalan identity in their everyday practices as they draw on certain elements that are indexical of Catalonia, such as taking part in traditional Catalan cultural practices. Mónica, from Sevilla, told me: *'me encantan las fiestas populares, no sé, algunas tradiciones y comidas*

que ellos tienen me encantan […] lo de la castanyada[65]*, er Sant Jordi lo de la rosa'*[66] (I love the popular festivals, I don't know, some of the traditions and food that they have I love […] the *castanyada*, er *Sant Jordi*, the tradition of the rose). Although Mónica enjoys taking part in these festivals, as a recent migrant, she still seems to consider them traditions that *'they have'* rather than adopting them as her own. Marisol however has lived in El Masnou since she was a young girl, she said:

> *también hemos adoptado muchas de aquí todas las que podemos. Yo por mis hijos, pues el hacer la carn d'olla en navidad er la mona que es una para nosotros también muy muy muy tradicional no nos la saltamos nunca pero sí como que me gusta mucho er o sea me siento muy identificado con las costumbres me encanta vivir donde vivo y no me iría pues es como que eso me gustaría tenerlo por la mano como la receta de la carn d'olla que ya la tengo por la mano, no!*
>
> we have also adopted many [traditions] from here all that we can. Me for my sons, so I make the *carn d'olla*[67] at Christmas er the *mona*[68] that for us is very very very traditional and we never miss it but yes I like it a lot and I feel very identified with the customs I love living where I live and I wouldn't leave and that's why I'd like to be good at it [the language] like the *carn d'olla* recipe that I'm very good at now! (Marisol, 51, 13/5/15).

Marisol positions herself here in line with very stereotypical Catalan traditions and in this way the traditions are iconised as the essence of Catalonia. By adopting these traditions, Marisol constructs her Catalan identity and denaturalises any inherent right to claim this identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). I will show later the fluidity of her 'national' identity when she constructs a different identity, again through cultural practices around food. It is interesting

[65] *La Castanyada* is a popular festival celebrated around All Saints day with chestnuts, sweet potatoes and *panellets* (marzipan sweets).
[66] *Sant Jordi* (St George) is the Patron Saint of Catalonia. The Saint Day is 23rd April. Traditionally on this day women are given roses and books are exchanged as gifts.
[67] *Carn d'olla* is a Catalan stew traditionally eaten on 25th December.
[68] La *Mona de Pascua* is a traditional Catalan Easter cake usually given as a gift to a godchild on Easter Monday.

to note here Marisol uses the expression *'tenerlo por la mano'* which is a Catalan idiom that does not exist in Castilian. She has literally translated it from *'tenir [algú] per la mà'* which means 'to be practiced or good at something'. This practice is known as loan translation whereby a complex lexical unit, such as an idiom or phrasal expression, is translated literally word-by-word from the source language (Haspelmath, 2009). The (apparent) unconscious translation of a Catalan idiom not only demonstrates how contact with the Catalan language permeates Marisol's everyday talk but it also suggests her desire to take on a Catalan identity, even if she has not yet mastered the language. She indexes some of the most traditional Catalan customs that she adopts as her own. This can also be seen in the next example. Marisol asserts that she has embraced many Catalan traditions 'for my sons' and defends Catalonia because her children are Catalan, although she then goes on to express her own Catalan identity:

> *mis hijos son de aquí y yo no lo digo porque no ofender a los catalanes pero yo también ((risa)) así de sencillo […] pienso que cada sitio precisamente todo todo lo que tiene que ver con ese sitio es la identidad que no tiene er a ver no tiene que significar er el el porque sepas catalán seas mas catalán o menos catalán ni er ni me voy a sentir mas ni me voy a sentir menos yo mi sentimiento sé lo que es y un catalán me dirá pues no ni chicha ni limonada.*
>
> my sons are from here and I don't say it because I don't want to offend the Catalans but I am as well it's that simple […] I think that everything about a place is its identity that it doesn't have to let's see just because you know more or less Catalan it doesn't mean er I'm not going to feel more or less I know what my sentiment is and maybe a Catalan would say I'm not one thing or the other (Marisol, 51, 13/5/15).

For Marisol the condition of feeling Catalan is very personal and not connected to nativism or being fluent in the language, highlighting the emergence principle and subverting the 'essentialist preconceptions of linguistic

ownership' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 588). However, she does note that a Catalan would perhaps consider her Catalan identity inauthentic.

A different perspective is expressed by Matilde, who was born in Asturias and has lived in Catalonia for 40 years. She explained how she is involved in the community and speaks the language however she told me *'es que como yo no tengo esta necesidad de lo catalán'* (it's just that I don't have that need of Catalan-ness). In other words, she does not feel the need take on a Catalan identity, or at least a nationalistic stance; as I have previously discussed, a Catalan identity does not imply a separatist ideology, however the latter does usually require the former. Matilde has a wide circle of Catalan friends although she does not share some of their nationalistic attitudes:

> *me llevo unos años aprender catalán bien entender que estaba pasando aquí, yo diría que 4 o 5 años hasta que me sentí que conocía un poco el mundo en que me movía, no? Pero bueno yo siempre he tenido mucho respeto y de hecho tengo muchos amigos supercatalanes y siempre he tenido mucho respeto y donde voy intento hacer el esfuerzo en integrarme lo que pueda, defendiendo mi libertad de pensamiento eso sí.*
>
> it took me a few years to learn Catalan well understand what was going on here I would say 4 or 5 years until I felt that I knew a bit about the world I lived in, no? But well I have always had a lot of respect and in fact I have many super-Catalan friends and I've always had a lot of respect and wherever I go I make the effort to integrate as much as I can, always defending my own freedom of thought (Matilde, 63, 15/10/15).

On the other hand, one of the younger migrants, Ana, had difficulty defending her own ideologies whilst trying to integrate into her new life among Catalans. Ana lived in Masnou for a number of years before moving back to Madrid. She has now returned to live with her Catalan boyfriend and wants to recover the language and *'recordar mi infancia también*' (remember my childhood as well).

She argued that if an individual tries to defend their own position and does not adopt a Catalanist national identity, they are labelled a *'facha'*, a slang expression for fascist that is reminiscent of the Francoist regime[69]. She told me:

> *por pensar de una manera diferente er no? Te tachen de facha porque aquí eso pasa mucho también porque vengas de Madrid también los prejuicios de aquí tanto de aquí como de allí eh también te digo. Aquí, por decir que eres de Madrid […] con amigos de Toni me pasa que o me tachan de: pepera, porque yo no estoy a favor de la independencia […] además que todos somos mezclado o sea estamos mezclados y que es que yo no entiendo este sentimiento de: de propiedad es lo hablo mucho con Toni es que lo que no entiendo es este sentimiento de propiedad.*
>
> for thinking differently er no? they label you a *facha* because that happens a lot here because you come from Madrid also the prejudices as much here as from there eh as well here if you say you're from Madrid with friends of Toni [her Catalan partner] this happens that they label me *pepera*[70] because I'm not in favour of independence […] anyway we're all mixed I mean we're mixed and I just don't understand this sense of ownership (Ana, 30, 15/5/15).

Being from Madrid and speaking Castilian is associated with Spanish political dominance and historically linked with the Franco regime, and some Catalans define these stereotypical symbols as *'facha'*. As Ana's discourse shows, her contrary opinion alienates her from becoming a particular group member; she feels she is forced to take on a particular Catalan (separatist) identity and attachment to the nation in order to be accepted. This demonstrates the difficulties surrounding who can claim a Catalan identity. My findings have shown how sometimes linguistic competence is demanded, other times a cultural affinity is required, and in this case, a political ideology that aligns with

[69] In order to mobilise voting in the referendum in October 2017, a pro-independence campaign poster recently used the image of Franco and the words 'No votes, el 1 de octubre, no a la República' (Don't vote, 1st October, no to the Republic), implying if you vote no, you are a fascist (Piñol, 2017).
[70] *Pepera* (f) signifies someone who supports the *Partido Popular* (PP), Popular Party.

the group is expected. This suggests that the barriers are constantly shifting depending on the context and makes it complex for migrant women to develop any sense of belonging.

Not all the migrant women I interviewed constructed or wanted to construct a Catalan identity. Some problematised the need to take on a particular identity and others felt they maintained an identity from their birthplace. Like Matilde earlier, Luisa did not feel the need to portray a specific national identity just because she was living in Catalonia:

> *No, no me siento catalana pero tampoco me siento bueno pero no tengo sentimiento nacional de ser española muy muy muy no no. Es que no soy nacionalista en ese sentido de ningún tipo, yo soy mas bien abierta, no? No moriría por España eh ni mucho menos por Cataluña […] mi identidad es ser yo mi forma de ser y ya está y no tratar de ser de ser otra cosa que no soy mira sino 'ay porque si porque soy catalana porque vivo aquí' no.*
>
> I don't feel Catalan but nor do I feel well I don't have a national sentiment of being very very very Spanish no no. It's just that I'm not a nationalist of any sort in that sense, I'm more open, no? I wouldn't die for Spain eh nor Catalonia far from it […] my identity is to be me my way of being and that's it not try to be something I'm not like 'yes I'm Catalan because I live here', no (Luisa, 53, 15/10/15).

Whereas Luisa rejected any form of national categorisation, Manuela however explicitly self-identified as Andalusian whilst at the same time strongly renouncing a Spanish nationality:

> *hay gente que no que dice no, yo soy de donde como bueno pues yo no no soy de donde como yo soy de donde he nacido y todas mis raíces toda mi familia […] yo me siento andaluza no me siento española eh a ver soy española porque soy española pero yo esto de España pues que no en mi pueblo yo me siento de allí es que cuando yo voy allí siento una sensación que yo no siento cuando vengo aquí. Es una cosa que un sentimiento que a lo mejor hay gente que no lo tiene pero yo si lo tengo de felicidad ((risa)) que no es- yo cuando voy entrando ya cuando me voy acercando hay una cosa que siento que sensaciones que yo no- y yo tengo aquí mi cas- a ver cuando yo*

> *vengo aquí tengo mi casa y tengo mi vida no pero esa sensación que yo tengo que voy para alla no la tengo cuando vengo para aca.*
>
> there are people that say I'm from where I eat well not me I'm not from where I eat I'm from where I was born and all my roots all my family […] I feel Andalusian I don't feel Spanish er I mean I'm Spanish because I'm Spanish but this thing of Spain well I mean no, my village I feel I am from there when I go there I feel a sensation that I don't feel when I come here. It's like a feeling that maybe others don't have but I do of happiness when I'm getting near I feel sensations that I don't- I my home is here I have my home and life here but this feeling that I have when I go there I don't have it when I come here (Manuela, 57, 22/10/15).

Although Manuela has lived in El Masnou for over forty years, she expresses a very local sense of belonging to the village where she was born, despite admitting that she hardly has any family left there now. So, despite the length of time in Catalonia, she does not appear to have taken up a Catalan identity. She lives in the *bloques* with its predominant Castilian influence, continues to speak Castilian and her working and social circles are principally with other Andalusian or Spanish people.

The Spanish migrant women display diverse stances towards a national or regional identity. However, my findings revealed less evidence of Catalan identity than I would have expected, particularly from the migrants that have lived in Catalonia most of their lives. This could be attributed to the way they are often still conceived to be 'immigrants'. The discourse of authenticity seems to be so internalised by the native Catalans that the notion of the Spanish 'immigrant' has become naturalised and still persists today. In the previous chapter it was noted that ERC's leader in the early 2000s, Carod Rovira, wished to remove the immigrant label from Spanish migrants and

argued they should also be considered as Catalans. However, the women's narratives suggest this wish has yet to be completely realised.

6.3.4 Identity construction as a process

As already discussed, identity is not fixed (although as evidenced above many of the women appear to believe that it is), it is always evolving and context-dependent (Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2003). As a social construct, national identity may evolve over time due to social and political changes. As Hall (1992) argues, the construction of identity is a process of becoming as well as of being and identities can be newly constructed in a different time and context. My findings show how some of the older women's Catalan identity has changed, a change that some attribute to the socio-political shifts in Catalonia over the last six years. Some of these women are native Catalans, others are Spanish migrants. The next extract exemplifies the tactics of adequation and distinction of Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) relationality principle. As a native Catalan, Cristina first discusses her lack of affinity with Spanish culture:

> *yo me consideraba catalana siempre antes que nada primero siempre he sido catalana y luego española. Ahora no soy española. Yo notaba o sea esto también te lo tengo que decir cuando veía la tele televisiones er de programación castellana o sea española o lo que quieras decir me daba cuenta que no era que yo no tenía nada que ver con su tipo de cultura y cada vez menos vale […] yo notaba no sé como explicarlo hay un tipo de humor un tipo de er manera de ser que no es la mía que no digo ni que sea ni mejor ni peor eh pero que no es lo mío todavía así yo no era independentista […] no me emociona oír un flamenco es mas me me er cierro o sea me molesta tampoco te voy a decir que me ponga ai que me emocione oyendo una sardana porque mentiré […] pero con Els Segadors pues me he emocionado mas que una vez porque lo siento mío […] y oyendo a las declaraciones que hacían sobre Catalunya y yo llegue a un momento que se acabó! Fuera! No quiero saber nada mas.*

> I have always considered myself Catalan before anything else first Catalan and then Spanish. Now I'm not Spanish. I noticed I mean I have to say this when I watched television the Castilian I mean the Spanish programmes I realised that I had nothing to do with their type of culture and as time passes less and less […] I noticed I don't know how to explain a type of humour that isn't mine I don't say it's better or worse but it's not mine but even so I wasn't pro-independence […] I don't get emotional if I hear flamenco music although nor do I if I hear a sardana but with *Els Segadors* well I have welled up more than once because it feels mine […] and listening to the declarations they make about Catalonia the time came when I said that's it it's over! Get out! I don't want to know anything more (Cristina, 65, 6/5/15).

Cristina constructs a binary opposition between an iconic cultural Spanish stereotype – flamenco music – and a Catalan one – the national hymn *Els Segadors* (The Reapers). In both cases, Cristina foregrounds her Catalan-ness through the stance that she takes, positioning herself in line with a traditional symbol of Catalan cultural identity and distances herself from anything traditionally conceived as Spanish. Cristina differentiates between Catalan and Spanish, rather than Castilian which is the way many people in Catalonia distinguish between the two populations (she corrects herself when she said Castilian). She told me she used to say Castilian when referring to the language as she considered Catalan, along with Basque, Galician and Castilian all to be Spanish languages. When she became a separatist she said that was when she stopped using Castilian: *'no soy española, yo soy catalana, sabes, es que todo lo suyo es español, pues quedaros con vuestro español'* (I'm not Spanish, I'm Catalan, you know and all that they have is Spanish, well you can keep all your Spanish stuff).

At the end of her narrative, Cristina states that her pro-independence stance on Catalonia and her rejection of a Spanish identity evolved from the Spanish anti-Catalan discourse. Marta, another native Catalan, makes a very similar

comment. They both express an emotional attachment to Catalonia that has become more politicised due to the tensions between the Spanish state government and the Catalan government:

> *he canviat perquè jo er era (.) sempre m'havia sentit més er no potser no havia pensat amb qui sóc o com sóc ((risa)) [...] he sigut més més més per tot el que genera la política anti-catalanista que dius bueno jo sóc d'aquí m'estimo aquesta terra comences a a interessar-te per l'història de Catalunya que a mi els 18 anys als 20 anys o als 25 anys no sabia res tampoc ara se gaire però a vegades vas intentant posar-te al dia culturalment de la teva història i dius er sóc er et sents d'aquí vull dir t'estimes aquesta terra.*
>
> I've changed because I er was (.) I had always felt more er perhaps I haven't thought who I am or how I am […] I've always been more more for everything that the anti-Catalan politics generate and you say I'm from here I love this land and you start to take an interest in the history of Catalonia that when I was 18 or 20 or 25 years old I knew nothing I don't know much now but you try to get up to date culturally with your history and you say I'm er you feel like you're from here I mean you love this land (Marta, 51, 10/5/15).

Alicia, however, is originally from Asturias and has lived in Catalonia for over 40 years. Her narrative highlights the complexity of her national identity. She states that she feels Asturian, Spanish and Catalan and thus manifests a type of hybrid identity. A hybrid identity may be constructed when an individual identifies with more than one cultural or national context (Iyall Smith, 2008) and will be further explored in the final section of the chapter. Alicia also aligns herself with an independent Catalonia. Her nationalistic stance is based on what she considers to be the progressively antagonistic attitude of the Spanish government towards Catalonia, something that was not evident when she first arrived to the region:

> *Bueno yo soy independentista er sobre todo er mas que nada er por la actitud que hay en el resto de España bueno sobre todo la actitud del gobierno de los poderes políticos hacia el problema este porque lo que está clarísimo que en Catalunya hay una identidad, hay una nación […] que se sienta la nación catalana pues diferente con su rasgos, que nadie se meta en lo que es su identidad […] me gusta ser*

catalana me gusta ser castellana, soy asturiana, er pero tampoco soy allí con la espada en la mano tampoco […] el sentimiento mío claro ahora yo estoy en una familia catalana y y ese sentimiento catalán pues lo tengo lo tengo no sé cuándo fue no sé cuál fue el proceso supongo que poco a poco pero en seguida er tampoco hace años cuando nos casábamos no estaba politicitado.

Well I'm pro-independence more than anything for the attitude that you find in the rest of Spain well mostly the government the political powers towards this problem because what is absolutely clear is that in Catalonia there's an identity, there's a nation […] that the Catalan nation is different with its characteristics nobody should meddle with what is its identity […] I like to be a Catalan I like to be a Castilian I'm Asturian er but I'm not there with the sword in my hand either […] my sentiment of course I am in a Catalan family and this Catalan sentiment well, I have it I have it I don't know when I don't know what the process was I suppose little by little but not years ago when we got married it wasn't politicised then (Alicia, 63, 27/10/15).

As we saw with Marisol's narrative earlier, Alicia's Catalan identity seems to be linked to her family ties rather than an emotional attachment to the territory; she makes it clear she would not defend any 'nationality' with the sword.

Finally, another native Catalan, Mercè, discussed how she has changed over the years. She argues that she 'feels different' because she considers Catalonia is more progressive than other parts of Spain, with better services, hospitals and doctors. Her narrative highlights the particular stance she takes with Catalonia against the rest of Spain:

m'he anat com m'he anat canviant perquè em trobo com diferent no se ((risa)). La meva cosina de la Corunya em diu i nosaltres que som uns paletos? Dic no, no és això. Mira la manera de funcionar els hospitals aquí a Catalunya és diferent de molts llocs d'Espanya no vull dir de tots eh perquè sé que a Navarra i el País Basc també funciona tot molt bé [...] hi ha totes aquestes coses de bases que jo crec que som diferents sí.

I've changed because I feel different I don't know ((laughs)) my cousin from La Coruña says to me 'and what are we then peasants?' and I say no it's not like that. Look the way the hospitals are run here in Catalonia is different from many parts of Spain not everywhere eh

> because I know that in Navarra and the Basque Country everything also runs very well […] there are all these basic things that I think we are different, yes (Mercè, 61,19/5/15).

It is clear from Mercè's narrative that she has discussed this feeling of difference with her cousin who lives in Galicia. She argues her perspective has nothing to do with prestige but she goes on to express a sense of national superiority and idealises Catalonia whilst implicitly referring to Spain's backwardness, evoking the Old Spain/Modern Catalonia dichotomy. She groups together some of the more affluent Spanish regions of Navarra and the Basque Country and compares them more favourably with Catalonia than the rest of Spain and thus implicitly invokes a class distinction whereby backwardness is synonymous with a lower socio-economic status.

6.4 Transnational identity construction

In the final part of this chapter I will look at the construction of transnational and hybrid identities that can be mapped onto the space paradigm through ideological and also temporal space. The women move between physical spaces including home, school and country and negotiate their identities through different linguistic and cultural practices.

As previously discussed in chapter two, transnational practices are cross-border activities carried out by individuals, collectives or organisations that may involve the physical movement of people or goods across national borders or may include a level of cross-border connectivity between individuals or organisations (Faist et al., 2013). In the context of this study, the transnational perspective focuses on the degree of cross-border social and

familial connection and the movement between the country of origin and host country, which can be defined as transnational social spaces (ibid.). The concept of a transnational space refers to 'relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across borders' (Faist, 2010: 14) and in its simplest form consists of social ties between at least two individuals (Faist et al., 2013). I also analyse transnational practices within the host country, such as how the women incorporate different elements from both cultures into their lives and how this shapes their identities. Some of the women take on multiple cultural identities that overlap in their everyday lives whilst others may construct a hybrid cultural identity. A hybrid identity, as argued by Hall (1992), suggests the creation of a new identity through the synthesis of two or more cultures; the meeting point of these cultures constituting what Bhabha calls a 'third space' which 'may open the way to conceptualizing an *inter*national culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*' (Bhabha, 1994: 38, original italics). Indeed, Sakamoto argues that hybridity can subvert dominant discourses:

> a borderline culture of hybridity is a powerful and creative 'third space' through which 'newness enters the world', subverting the authority of the dominant discourse (1996: 116).

I will show later in the chapter how one woman attempts to subvert the national narrative through constructing a hybrid identity. As is the case with all identities, hybrid identities are not static and here also the notion of temporal and physical space can be applied to the creation of these identities: temporal as they develop and change over time and physical as the construction of a hybrid identity can also be context-dependent.

If Catalonia is considered a nation, then the migrant women I interviewed may at some point construct transnational identities regardless of whether they are national migrants from other parts of Spain or international migrants. However, as discussed in chapter two, individuals should not just be perceived as either transnational or non-transnational. Transnational practices should be understood as part of a continuum with varying levels of intensity of transnational ties depending on the individual's life stage or context (Faist et al., 2013; Lazăr, 2011).[71]

Some migrant women constructed a Catalan identity more as a sense of local belonging to place and to the village and feeling at home after many years. For some this could be attributed to having children which would be an important factor in shaping their lives. However, I found that few of the women articulated a strong identification with Catalonia. Whilst recounting their life stories, their transnational practices, particularly surrounding food, were very salient, and according to one of the migrant women: *'la gastronomía es lo único que el pueblo lo une!'* (gastronomy is the only thing that unites a people!). Food is considered to play an important role in identity construction (Atkins & Bowler, 2001) and the women's narratives reveal how food is another cultural symbol that can contribute to the formation of a particular identity as well as recovering memories of past times and places. Rocío, who has lived in the village for four years, told me how she missed the culture in Madrid of meeting up with friends after shopping and going for a beer: *'la gente no tiene*

[71] Native Catalans may also engage in transnational activities, however the focus here is on migrants' transnational practices.

la costumbre como tenemos en Madrid de ir a tomar cañas en cualquier momento!' (people here are not accustomed to go and have a few beers at any moment like we do in Madrid!). She also added*: 'No hay churros, esto lo echo de menos también! ((risa)) lo siento, pero llegar a una cafetería y que no haya churros-!'* (There's no *churros,*[72] I miss that as well! I'm sorry, but to go to a café and not find *churros*-!). Whilst she misses these customs, at home she continues to cook typical food from Madrid. She told me she makes *'un cocido madrileño que te mueres!'* (a traditional Madrid stew to die for!).

The importance of family, particularly the role of mothers, in continuing traditions from their place of origin was prominent in many of the women's narratives. I showed in section 6.3.3 how Marisol constructed a Catalan identity through food and associated traditions. Originally from Extremadura, she also explained how she would get together with her mother and sisters to make the doughnuts traditional to her village during Lent:

> *en Cuaresma se hacen los buñuelos pues nosotros seguimos haciendo las rosquillas que hacían en el pueblo porque mi madre para ella eso era: (.) pues como aquí cuando se iba acomodando aquí es la persona que hace los buñuelos en casa, no? Es una tradición de semana santa, para ella el hacer roscos las rosquillas era como ay! Que vamos a hacer este año sí mama! Y era juntarnos dos o tres, mis hermanas con ella y estar toda la tarde. Mi suegra continúa haciéndolos por mi marido y su hija y mis niños cuando han sido pequeños mama yo me voy con el abuelo para que me ponga azúcar! Sí, seguimos con algunas tradiciones sí.*
>
> during Lent they make the *buñuelos*[73] here well we continue making the doughnuts that they make in my village because for my mother that was: (.) like here that they make the *buñuelos* at home it's an Easter tradition and for her to make the doughnuts was like ay! Are we going to make them this year? Yes Mum! So two or three or us would

[72] C*hurros* are deep fried strips of dough covered in sugar, typically eaten for breakfast or as an afternoon snack with hot chocolate.
[73] A *buñuelo* (Cat. *bunyol*) is a light, deep-fried ball made from sweet dough found in Catalan cake shops during Lent.

> get together my sisters with her and we'd be all afternoon. My mother-in-law still makes them for my husband and her daughter and when my children were little they would say Mum, I'm going with grandad so he can put sugar on them for me! Yes, we carry on some traditions, yes (Marisol, 51, 13/5/15).

Here Marisol differentiates between a Catalan and an Extremaduran cultural identity: 'they' (the Catalans) make the *buñuelos*; 'we' continue making the doughnuts. This contrasts with her construction of a Catalan identity exemplified earlier and demonstrates the fluidity and context-dependency of identity, reflecting the emergence principle of identity. Marisol crosses cultural and 'national' boundaries and renegotiates her identities. Like Marisol, Adelina's mother was central to maintaining traditions from her village in Ávila. She explained that her family continue to celebrate certain traditions that she grew up with:

> *Y todavía tenemos la cosa aquella de cuando es la fiesta mi madre hace la comida a casa y así estamos claro mis hermanos estan casadas tienen hijos los hijos tienen hijos y claro ya no te reúnes tanto porque solemos reunirnos mucho en los cumpleaños y eso toda la familia porque siempre hemos sido muy familiares. Pero claro para ella es el 15 de agosto la fiesta y siempre hace la comida aquí la comida que hacían en el pueblo! ((risa)) […] Hacían arroz arroz con pollo y huevo duro y olivas negras era lo que hacían y luego lo que hacían también potaje garbanzo con bacalao y arroz con unos buñuelitos que hace. Sí, a ella le gusta! ((risa)) Y a mis hijos les gusta porque yo también se lo hago.*
>
> We still do that thing of when it's the festival my mother makes lunch and that way we are- of course my siblings are married they have children and their children have children and so you don't get together so much but we tend to get together for birthdays and that all the family because we've always been very family orientated. But for her the 15th of August is the festival and she always does the dish here that they did in the village! ((laughs)) […] they made rice, rice with chicken and boiled egg and black olives that's what they made also they made a stew chickpeas with cod and rice and little dumplings. Yes, she likes that. And my children like it because I also make it for them (Adelina, 59, 12/5/15).

Adelina goes into a lot of detail about the local dishes her family enjoyed. These narratives demonstrate the importance that food has in bringing the family together as a social activity and evoking memories of childhood. At the same time, my findings show that it is the mothers who maintain these traditions and pass them on to their children, carrying out the 'cultural work' (Erel, 2011) that was discussed previously in chapter five.

Transnational migration and globalisation in general has facilitated the movement of products between countries and technology has greatly improved communication over the last two decades (Castells, 2010b). The availability of products from home countries enables the migrant women to maintain certain habits or customs from their countries of origin. Laila remembers when her mother used to bring back many Moroccan products but now she rarely brings anything back from Morocco when she visits:

> *perquè ara es ven tot aquí sí a molts comerços sí er poca cosa la veritat potser una mica de seva del meu poble que és ecològica! ((risa)) o portes un par de melons del teu poble. Oli d'oliva porto perquè ho fan a un poble molt proper a mi i és molt bo i és ecològic total i és boníssim aquest sí que em porto veus porto una garrafa de 5 litres cada any i ja està res més la resta és que el tinc aquí.*
>
> because everything's sold here in lots of shops very little maybe some onion from my village as it's organic and really good! ((laughs)) or a couple of melons from the village. I do bring back olive oil they make it in a village very close to mine and it's very good completely organic and really good yes this I do bring back every year I bring a 5 litre container and that's it, everything else I can get here (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

The other Moroccan women on the other hand continue to bring back local products whenever they visit, not only food but also presents for their friends and things for the home. Rachida told me she brought back a sofa from Morocco: *'sí, sí! Yo tengo sofá de Marruecos!'* (Yes, yes! I have a sofa from

Morocco!). Malika also had a sofa and other furniture she had brought from Tangier and showed me photographs of her living room on her phone, pointing out the Moroccan decorations. As previously discussed in chapter four, some of the Moroccan migrant women try to emulate the social codes of Catalonia when they are in the public sphere. At home, they construct their Moroccan identity through their language and culture. In this way the women perform what Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004: 595) call *'ways of being'* whereby their engagement in transnational practices or in the host country is context-dependent. Their religious identity is also very prominent in defining who they are and this is intrinsically woven into their food practices. The commodities they bring over further help them maintain a connection with their country of origin. Salih (2001) argues that it is through these commodities that migrant women give meaning to their physical spaces in the host country. The imagery of their 'home' carried forward into their adopted country bridges the physical space between the two countries (Garrett et al., 2005). The reality of living in Catalonia presupposes that Catalan culture will filter into their lives. However, this was not evident in their narratives and they foreground their Moroccan-ness. This could be because they are defending their own identity as a resistance to the Catalan culture that they may feel is imposed on them. On the other hand, the other Moroccan woman in my study, Laila, appears to embrace both Moroccan and Catalan cultures:

> *la cuina que faig jo er no se i està molt contaminada d'aquí és en funció del dia er però ara que ho dius un plat típic típic marroquí que jo faig alguna vegada un cous cous però la resta són plats tipus- er les especies no els utilitzo tant [...] però sí que per exemple pues si faig un estofadet pues el faig més a l'estil marroquí més que res perquè està més bo si faig er algun arròs pues intentes que sigui com un arròs caldos que t'han preparat de petita no[...] jo m'he anat adaptant a el que mengen els molts fills! Lentejas, pues els faig sense*

xoriço a l'estil marroquí! [...] però el cap de setmana sí que intento fer algun plat marroquí.

the cooking I do er I don't know it's very contaminated from here it depends on the day but now you ask a typical typical typical Moroccan dish that I do sometimes is cous cous but the rest are sort of-I don't use spices so much […] but if I make a stew I will make it more Moroccan style really just because it's more tasty if I make rice well you try to make a soup-like rice that you had when you were little […] but I adapt to what my sons will eat! Lentils well I make them without chorizo Moroccan-style! […] but at the weekend I do try to cook some Moroccan dishes (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

Hybridity and the fusion of two cultures can be seen in this example where Laila cooks local food to which she adds a Moroccan touch. Some food evokes childhood memories, other food is adapted to her sons' tastes which are more accustomed to Catalan flavours rather than Moroccan spices. Thus, Laila's home could be considered a third space where she constructs this hybrid cultural identity. Laila also spoke at length about the importance she puts on instilling a sense of identity in her children:

amb els meus fills el que intentem també és això de què no tinguin cap problema i treballem molt er saber qui ets qui ets i com et veu la societat o sigui a vegades li dic perquè els nens a vegades em diuen mama jo sóc Català? er: i jo dic, tu ets de Masnou, tio! Que són els de Masnou? I diu no sé, pues dic a Masnou hi ha gent de molts drets tu ets de Masnou i quan et pregunti la gent d'on és has de dir jo sóc de Masnou, no? i diu ja però sóc Català o sóc marroquí o sóc ? Perque si sóc del mig. Dic, tu que vols ser tu com et sents? Diu, bueno no sé a mi m'agrada les dues coses dic ja està ets un masnoví que té la sort de tenir dues cultures [...]i que el nen li doní valor a la seva cultura a les dues cultures perquè les dues són seves o sigui no és podrà desfer d'una vull dir [...] el que no pots dir és no no tu no digues mai que els altres són marroquís però tu no, eh tu Català, l'estic enganyant perquè sortirà al carrer i alguna altra persona li dirà tu no, tu ets marroquí perquè els teus pares són del Marroc vull dir el nen ha de tenir la suficient informació i la suficient capacitat per dir escoltem jo sóc el que sóc jo sóc del Masnou i dóna la casualitat que els meus pares són nascuts al Marroc.

what we try to do with my sons is that they don't have any problem and we work a lot on knowing who you are and how society sees you because sometimes the kids ask me 'Mummy, am I Catalan?' er and I say 'You're from Masnou, who are the ones from Masnou?' and he

> says ‘I don’t know’ so I say ‘in Masnou there are people from many places you’re from Masnou and when people ask you where you’re from you have to say ‘I’m from Masnou’ and he says ‘yes but am I Catalan or Moroccan or what am I?’ Because I’m from in-between. So I ask him ‘what do you want to be?’ and he says ‘I don’t know, I like both things’ so I say ‘well that’s it, you’re a *masnoví*[74] who is lucky to have two cultures […] and that the kid is able to value his culture, both of them because both are his I mean he can’t detach himself from one […] what you can’t tell him is that no, the others are Moroccan but you’re not, you’re Catalan. I’m lying to him because he’ll go out onto the street and someone else will say to him ‘you’re Moroccan because you’re parents are Moroccan’ I mean the kid has to have sufficient information and sufficient ability to say ‘listen I am what I am I’m from Masnou and it’s a coincidence that my parents were born in Morocco’ (Laila, 34, 28/10/15).

Laila clearly inculcates a Moroccan/Catalan identity in her children although it is interesting that she prioritises a very local *masnoví* identity as if she is trying to avoid any national categorisation. This may be to counter any possible claims of authenticity her sons may come across, stressing their authenticity as natives of Masnou rather than Catalan or Moroccan. However, by avoiding categorisation, Laila challenges the notion of fixed identities and the binary opposition of Moroccan/Catalan identity whilst at the same time she is creating a hybrid identity for her son. In doing this, she can be seen to use the emergence principle whereby she deconstructs the Catalan narrative of a homogenous and fixed Catalan identity and subverts the authority of the dominant discourse (Sakamoto, 1996). As the second generation, in the future her children may take on this hybrid identity; her son already unknowingly alludes to this with his comment ‘I’m from in-between’, occupying a third space that has been created by the meeting and merging of cultural boundaries (Iyall Smith, 2008). Indeed, according to Erdal and Oeppen (2013), children from migrant backgrounds are often defined by their hybrid identities rather than

[74] A ‘*masnoví*’ (f. *masnovina*) is a native of El Masnou.

their parents' origin. The other Moroccan women also discussed their children's national identity. Rachida told me her son considers he has a dual identity, although she articulates this as Moroccan/Spanish:

> *er el ha dicho el sabe naciendo aquí y sabe porque me ha dicho a mitad de Marruecos a mitad español porque naciendo aquí sabes como naciendo aquí que vamos a hacer? No lo sé.*
>
> er he said he knows he was born here and he knows because he said to me he is half from Morocco and half Spanish because he was born here he knows as he was born here what can we do? I don't know (Rachida, 34, 28/10/15)

Unfortunately, due to language barriers, I was unable to gain a deeper understanding of Rachida and Malika's perspectives on their children's future positioning within Catalan society. I was also unable to ascertain whether Rachida was expressing regret that her son identified as both Moroccan and Spanish when she said 'what can we do?'. Malika explained that her daughter considers herself Moroccan:

> *ella sabe es marroquí sí, allí tienes una profe me dice cada niño me dice que es catalana o castellana y dice que es marroquí nacida aquí tiene papeles aquí pero yo marroquí si ella sabe y ella sabe que su madre es marroquí!*
>
> she knows she is Moroccan, yes, a teacher told me that each child was saying whether they were Catalan or Castilian and she said Moroccan born here and with paperwork from here but Moroccan yes she knows. She knows that her mother is Moroccan (Malika, 28, 28/10/15).

Again, by virtue of living in Catalonia and going through Catalan education, it could be expected that Rachida and Malika's children will manifest a hybrid identity despite the evidence that both the women strongly self-identified as Moroccan:

Rachida: *yo marroquí no de española ni francesa ni nada*

Malika: *yo de los árabes=*

Rachida: *=tengo mi religión marroquí y yo [estoy*

Malika: *[no podemos cambiar=*

Rachida: *=no podemos. Si queremos cambiarnos sí vamos a vivir er vamos a comer jamón vamos a hacemos er no hablamos marroquí nunca vamos a hablamos español, pues no, somos marroquíes.*

Rachida: I am Moroccan not Spanish or French or anything else

Malika: I am Arabic=

Rachida: =I have my religion Moroccan and [I'm

Malika: [we can't change=

Rachida: =no we can't. Yes, if we want to change yes we'll live er we can eat ham er we won't ever speak Moroccan we'll speak Spanish, of course not we're Moroccan (28/10/15).

Rachida and Malika's narrative demonstrate how their national identity is interwoven with their religious identity and language. They suggest that in order to take on aspects of a Spanish identity they would need to change their language and go against practices prescribed by their religion. Despite the inevitable influence of aspects of Catalan culture in their lives, I perceived a difference between these three Moroccan women's cultural identities. Their narratives show that not all migrant women's experiences are the same nor can they be considered a homogenous group just because they originate from the same country. The identities they may choose to construct may be constrained by their ability to access certain social and discursive spaces (Preece, 2016) and their diverse circumstances need to be considered. As argued by Yuval-Davis (2006, 2011), the relationship between different social categories (such as gender, class or ethnicity) is not mutually exclusive, the categories constitute each other and this highlights the importance of an

intersectional approach to analysis. Laila moved to Catalonia as a child with all her family, was educated up to Masters' level and has stable employment as a civil servant. Both Rachida and Malika arrived as young adults and have little or no education. Malika is a single mother in a precarious financial position and neither of them are currently able to work outside the home. These differences may impact their sense of belonging in Catalonia and thus their up-take of a Catalan cultural identity. The differences may also influence their level of transnational practices; identifying less with their host country may increase their interactions with their homeland.

Interactions with the country of origin, or transnational social ties, are an important element in the construction of a transnational space (Faist, 2000). Transnational ties may be manifested by social interaction through visits to the home country or electronic and digital contact with family and friends. Nearly all the Spanish migrant women spoke about returning to their *'pueblos'* (villages) in the summer, a practice that their migrant parents began and that many still maintain, although, as some of them commented, there is little family left in the villages now. This demonstrates that transnational ties are not limited to first generation migrants (Faist et al., 2013). These frequent visits facilitate a flow of customs and regional cuisines, as Manuela said '*estamos mezclados eh […] yo creo cuando vayas a otro sitio esto también lo llevas eh, lo enseñas*' (we're mixed, eh […] when you go to another place you take it with you, eh, you teach it). The Moroccan women also told me that they return to their villages in August. Laila reunites with other family members living throughout Europe during her stay. Rachida and Malika return if they have

money and if not they keep in touch by telephone. In our interview, both Rachida and Malika alluded to a desire to return to their country and regretted that this was not possible. Rachida said that if she were to return to Morocco, her family would consider her a failure: *'no sé, que ha hecho a España y volviendo aquí otra vez a Marruecos, mira, no hace nada, no hace una casa, no trae nada de allí'* (I don't know what she's done in Spain, and coming back here to Morocco, she's done nothing, she doesn't have a house, she brings nothing). From Malika's point of view, even though the rest of her family are in Morocco, she cannot go back because of her children:

> *no puedo bajar a Marruecos tengo que vivir aquí. Si estás sola bajas si tienes niños no puedes mover Tánger si digo a mi hijo baja a Marruecos y me dice que a mí no me gusta Tánger nacido aquí. Muy deficit con niños.*
>
> I can't go [back] to Morocco, I have to live here. If I was alone I could go, with children you can't move to Tangier, if I say tell my daughter we're going back to Tangier so said she doesn't like it, she was born here. It is very difficult with children (Malika, 28, 28/10/15).

Whilst Malika's daughter identifies as Moroccan, 'being Moroccan' is not necessarily linked to living in Morocco. As already suggested, her daughter may take on a hybrid identity in the future and merge the two cultures however, for the present, it will be mainly her mother's task to continue transmitting Moroccan culture at home.

Finally, the South American women I interviewed seemed to be engaged in transnational practices to a lesser degree. They did keep in touch by telephone or Skype, however none of them regularly return to their home countries, nor contemplated permanently returning. As one of the Argentinian woman said:

en algún momento pues escucho un tango y se me cuele un dia una lagrima sabes? Hay una nostalgia, no? De la tierra er hay la nostalgia si pero yo no me siento argentina ni me siento española er que me he acostumbrado a vivir aquí y y me manejo ya con los códigos mas españoles que argentinos […] entonces en ese sentido de códigos porque bueno cuando vivimos en un sitio estos códigos se aprenden para funcionar en la sociedad pero er a ver yo estoy en contra de la división de cualquier tipo ya sea por razas por religión sea por lengua.

if I listen to a tango sometimes that maybe makes me cry a little. There's a nostalgia for the country there's a nostalgia yes but I don't feel Argentinian nor do I feel Spanish er I have become accustomed to living here and I behave now with more Spanish codes than Argentinian […] so in this sense of social codes when we live somewhere it's these codes that we learn to function in society but I mean I'm against any sort of division whether it's racial religious or linguistic (Isabella, 66, 30/10/15).

The fact that these women either are in a relationship with a Catalan or have children who have gone on to marry and have children with native Catalans will have a bearing on everyday practices and reflects the transgenerational dimension of identity. Isabella argues that she has taken on Spanish social codes however, there is also a sense of belonging to nowhere or not identifying with a particular nationality that echoes some of the other Spanish migrant women's comments discussed earlier in the chapter.

6.5 Conclusion

I have shown in this chapter how the women's linguistic, national or ethnic identities can vary within and across the different spaces they occupy and how they can develop and change over time. The defence of the Catalan culture and language is a salient theme in this chapter and throughout the thesis, and as I showed in chapter four, attitudes towards the language can change and new pro-secessionist identities may be constructed over time. This highlights

the relevance of the intergenerational approach in order to explore how this can vary across and within generations.

Emphasis on ancestry in order to legitimise linguistic authority is evident in the stance taken by some of the native Catalan women, however, there are others who embrace the culture but not the language, or embrace the language but not the ideologies of the sovereign movement. The way the women construct their different identities is not predictable, it is nuanced and shaped by many different factors and cannot only be looked at from a binary constructionist/essentialist perspective. Hence the importance of taking an intersectional approach in the analysis to 'deconstruct simplistic notions of national and ethnic collectivities' (Yuval-Davis, 2011: 2).

The question of who can claim a Catalan identity is interlinked with the idea of a homogenous Catalan nation and Catalan-ness. This notion persists in many of the women's narratives; the authentic Catalan is still conceived by many as being white, native and Christian (or secular) and the strengthening of ideological borders could be seen as a reaction to the transnationalisation of the Catalan national space (Balibar, 2004; Zappettini, 2016).[75] However, there are other discourses that challenge this ideology through the construction of multiple, transnational and hybrid cultural identities. Many of the women's narratives demonstrate in their cultural practices how context-dependent and fluid identity is as they move between different national and transnational

[75] Balibar (2004) and Zappettini (2016) refer to the ideological borders of Europe but the same notion can be applied to Catalonia.

spaces, at times adopting Catalan practices or reinforcing their own. However, as argued by Barriendos Rodríguez (2009), care needs to be taken to avoid essentialising a hybrid identity and therefore risk it becoming just another category of 'other' that labels all hybrids as representative of a particular group of migrants rather than individuals.

Nonetheless, regardless of the identity the migrant women construct, they sometimes appear to put great effort into 'working out' their identities or trying to 'fit in'. As Laila, one of the Moroccan women said, 'we work a lot on knowing who you are'. This reflects how significant it is for the women to establish these identities and starkly contrasts with some of the native Catalan women's essentialist concept of their Catalan identity as a 'given'. The next chapter is the final analysis chapter of the thesis and will examine the construction of Catalan identities on social media and explore women's place in the Catalan nation.

Chapter 7

WOMEN AND THE CATALAN NATION

#VotaréPerTu Catalunya, la terra que m'estimo i
per la meva família. Desitjant veure-la per fi, lliure.

I will vote for you, Catalonia, the land that I love
and for my family. Wishing to see it free, at last (tweet, 7/11/14)[76].

ens associen en plorar [...] en el imaginari
la dona plora i el home lluita.

they associate us with crying [...] in the collective
imaginary the woman cries and the man fights (Lídia, 67, 9/10/15).

7.1 Oral history and social media

Catalonia portrays itself as a modern nation, and, as shown in earlier chapters, this is frequently represented in direct contrast with an anachronistic Spain. In this chapter, I will examine women's place in the Catalan nation. I will do this through analysis of two different types of data. I continue to analyse the oral history interviews and explore the predominant themes of family, work and relationships. Analysis of these themes reveals a discourse of social power relations of gender, class and ethnicity. I also examine women and the nation through the lens of social media. The task of combining two very different datasets was challenging and a distinct methodological approach for the social media data was needed that incorporated an appropriate method and also

[76] All tweets and Facebook comments have been copied from the originals and have not been edited for style, grammar or spelling.

addressed the project's epistemology. It was important to combine the two datasets in order to investigate if the experiences of women in a local context are also evident at a wider societal level. I have done this through analysis of a large dataset taken from two social media platforms: Twitter and Facebook. The principal themes from both datasets can be framed by the space paradigm I have used to organise themes throughout the thesis. The importance of physical space can be seen in the division between private and public spheres; discourses of nation, nationalism, politics and motherhood can be mapped onto both physical and ideological space. In this instance, my findings from social media show how the ideological space of the imagined community is conceptualised as a virtual national space. Finally, the women's narratives, social media posts and the discourse surrounding the big historical events can be understood by temporal space.

7.1.1 Why analyse Social Media?

Throughout conducting this study, I have been following the evolution of the political situation in Catalonia. The influence of social media as a tool to disseminate information online and encourage mobilisation offline has been a pervasive presence. Consequently, it was important to examine the online discourse of nationalism and explore its gendered dimensions. As a case study, I chose a highly significant event: the public consultation on Catalan independence held in November 2014. Thus, additional primary data was sourced from the microblogging site Twitter and the social media platform Facebook in order to examine the public's response to the campaign's promotional video released a week before the consultation.

7.2 Social Media Context: The Catalan public consultation, November 2014

As I previously introduced in chapter two, since 2010, Catalonia has been experiencing a strong, unexpected increase in secessionism (Crameri, 2014; Guibernau, 2014). The apparently banal Catalan nationalism (Crameri, 2000) evident in the late 1990s and early 2000s has developed into a forceful, 'hot' nationalism (Billig, 1995: 44). One of the factors that has been credited with having a strong mobilising effect has been the impact of the grassroots pro-independence movements that have motivated a huge increase in public support for secession (Serrano, 2013). According to Lluch (2010), the nationalist project in Catalonia has shifted from a political to a civil movement. This civil movement is reported by some to have had a stronger influence than political parties in mobilising the population where people have assumed an agency that had previously been largely hidden and the impetus has been from a bottom-up social movement rather than an elite-led one (Ordeix & Ginesta, 2013).

The two main pro-independence civil organisations, ANC and *Òmnium Cultural* have been pivotal in the organisation of several pro-independence demonstrations since 2010 and have used the internet to promote these events and facilitate collective action among Catalan citizens. Until 2016, when support seemed to be waning, the demonstrations produced consistently increasing turnouts of more than 1.5 million people (Guibernau, 2014). Following the 2012 demonstration calling for the government to take definitive steps towards independence, the then president of the Catalan

government, Artur Mas, agreed to commit to a public referendum if he was successful in the forthcoming elections (ibid.). The campaign for the long anticipated public referendum on independence held in November 2014 was led by the coalition of ANC and Òmnium under the banner of the civil platform *Ara es l'hora* (Now is the time). In the run up to the referendum, the central Spanish government took various measures to prevent any consultation taking place, finally handing the matter over to the Constitutional Court who declared the referendum unconstitutional and illegal. In order to avoid further issues with the court, the 'referendum' became a 'public consultation' and the Catalan people were spurred on by the organisers to defy the ruling and vote. In the end a total of 2,305,290 people voted in the consultation (33% turnout); 1,861,753 of these voting for an independent Catalonia (Pérez & Ríos, 2014).[77]

The campaign relied heavily on social media in order to engage the Catalan public. The tweet at the beginning of this chapter exemplifies how, within the confines of a restricted number of characters, a short text can express strong sentiment and meaning. In this chapter, I draw on Bamberg's (2004) and Georgakopoulou's (2007) 'small stories' framework, developed as a paradigm for narrative and identity theory, and demonstrate how analysis of the Twitter and Facebook corpora compliments the analysis carried out on the women's

[77] The referendum question was twofold: 1. Do you want Catalonia to become a State? And 2. In case of an affirmative response, do you want this State to be independent? According to the Catalan government, 80.76% (1,861,753) voted Yes to both questions, 10.07% (232,182) voted Yes/No and 4.54% (104,722) voted No to both questions with 4.62% (106,633) of voters either not answering both questions or spoiling the ballot paper. The estimated number of people eligible to vote was 5.4 million according to the Catalan government and 6,228,531 according to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (National Statistics Institute) (Pérez & Ríos, 2014).

stories from the previous chapters. Although stories found on social media platforms generally recount recent events and breaking news, they are linked to the users' previous experiences and perspectives and as such can have a strong connection with the users' life histories. I adopt a multimodal approach (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) in order to examine text, images and metadata found in the corpora and I will show how these can yield rich insights into the construction of national identity. This approach aims to demonstrate that social media posts can produce 'small stories' that are intertextually embedded in a community's past and form part of its history.

The chapter is broadly divided into three sections. The first section briefly reviews the link between gender and nation and Spain's National-Catholic ideology previously discussed in chapter two. It goes on to describe the background to the case study and the influence of new media. Further, this section also presents the theoretical 'small stories' framework that is employed as an analytical tool for the social media data. In section two, I analyse these data, exploring how users of Twitter and Facebook discursively construct their national identity and compare these constructions with the interview narratives from the previous chapter. Further, this section of the chapter explores the construction of nationhood from a gendered perspective. The final section continues with this perspective, focusing on the workplace, narratives of motherhood and political engagement and concludes with analysis of the referendum campaign video. It explores the video's content and Catalonia's nationalist ideology, discusses its gendered dimension and the missing actors from the campaign.

7.3 National identity: a brief review

As already discussed in the previous chapter, like the other identities an individual may construct, national identity is a dynamic, fluid concept. We identify ourselves and are identified by others in diverse ways depending on a particular context and identities are therefore socially and culturally constructed (Hall, 1996). The way a community identifies with the idea of nation helps construct the distinction between 'them' and 'us', and this sense of difference and identity is discursively produced, particularly through narratives of national culture. National identity can therefore be understood as 'constructed and conveyed in discourse', and therefore, 'the product of discourse' (Wodak et. al., 2009: 22). Communities are reified through this discourse and members share beliefs and an identity of a common history, culture, origin, tradition and territory creating an emotional attachment to both land and fellow members (Castells, 2010a). According to Guibernau (2004), a common past provides legitimacy and continuity, culture engenders solidarity in a community and enables it to feel distinct from other communities; a sense of homeland is created through territorial boundaries and finally, the political dimension arises from the role that institutions play in the transmission and preservation of nations and nationalism.

7.4 Gender and nation

Nationalism and national projects are often depicted as masculine phenomena; both Anderson (1983: 38) and Smith (1991: 77) refer to the construction of a nation as a brotherhood or 'fraternity' and as Mayer (2000:

6) argues, nationalism is thus perceived as a hetero-male project. As previously mentioned, nationalism is about difference; it is therefore exclusive and hierarchies of gender, sexuality, class and ethnicity are inevitably present. Normative ideals of masculinity are interrelated with the nation's identity and control how it is represented, reproduced and who is included or excluded, rewarding a particular construction of masculinity to the exclusion of others (Mayer, 2000). As pointed out in chapter two, the classical theorists of nationalism have almost entirely failed to address gender or the role of women in national projects. For example, Anthony Smith includes only a very brief section in his book *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998). This lack of attention to gender has been criticised by many feminist scholars (e.g. Ranchod-Nilsson & Tétreault, 2000; Walby 2000; Yuval-Davis 1997). In their seminal book *Women, nation, state*, Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) consider how women have always been central to nationalism as reproducers of the nation. In her later work, Yuval-Davis (1997: 45) discusses how women have been used throughout history as symbols of the nation, as 'symbolic bearers of the collectivity's identity and honour'. As such, women represent the purity of the nation and are depicted as modest, dutiful homemakers and this is considered essential for the nation's survival. This representation of women was one of the key factors in the post-war reconstruction of the nation in Francoist Spain (Morcillo, 2010).

Following the civil war, the new Franco regime aimed to eradicate the 'moral degeneracy' of the Second Republic and re-establish traditional values particularly regarding the position of women and the family (Nash, 1994: 161).

At that time, in Catalonia and throughout Spain as a whole, the role of women as nation-builders was an essential element in the regime's new policies. Symbolically, women and motherhood were used to represent the nation and their worth was determined by their reproductive capacities (ibid.). As a result of Franco's National-Catholic ideology, women became the symbol of the nation based on traditional religious values of purity, motherhood and domestication. Furthermore, women were seen as the guardians of culture and language and were expected to transmit these to the next generation (Morcillo, 2010). As in many other authoritarian regimes, policies to increase the birth rate were the basis for the nationalisation of women; thus their bodies became objects of oppression that belonged to the nation (Bergès, 2012). As previously discussed, all linguistic and cultural representations not pertaining to the ideology of the nation-state were repressed and consequently, in Catalonia, the Catalan language and its culture were proscribed (May, 2012). Women sought to fight against the regime through clandestine post-war women's resistance movements, however it was in the late 1960s and early 1970s that the discrimination of women during Franco's regime propelled a political and feminist consciousness (Nash, 2013). In the transition to democracy between 1975 and 1982, women's movements campaigned for new laws on divorce, abortion and birth control. The transition and post-transition periods also saw the emergence of a dynamic women's movement in Catalonia, and the construction of new female identities and roles beyond traditional nationalist definitions of women as mothers of the nation (Nash, 2007).

7.5 New media and activism

The power of the internet to mobilise large groups of people is now well established (Bekkers et al., 2011; van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). A growing body of studies have investigated its effectiveness in online mobilisation of protesters during the Arab Spring in Egypt and Tunisia (Howard & Hussein, 2011) and Western protests following the financial crisis such as Gleason's (2013) study which explores how activists use Twitter to support participation in the Occupy Wall Street movement. Similarly, Peña-López et al. (2014) study the online evolution of the citizen-led *15M/indignados* movement that began in Madrid in 2011. There are similarities between Catalonia's pro-independence movement and the *indignados* movement and although the Catalan movement cannot be compared to the *indignados* in its organisational form – *15M* was born out of an apparently leaderless amalgamation of a number of different groups (Anduiza et al., 2014) – they do however share their intensive use of new media to disseminate information and rally support. The *Ara es l'hora* platform used a number of social network sites (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube) to promote and consolidate Catalan national sentiment and motivate participation in the consultation on independence. In the run up to the consultation, the civic organisation attempted to engage the public through a variety of initiatives including encouraging people to paint their towns yellow *(#paísgroc)* and the phone marathon '*una trucada, un vot'* (one call, one vote) whereby all Catalans were asked to make one phone call to convince someone to use their right to vote in the consultation. The final campaign 'push' was a short video titled *'Votaré per tu'* or 'I will vote for you', which depicts 17 Catalan political leaders and cultural personalities dedicating their

vote to well-known deceased figures from Catalan history who allegedly fought for democracy and Catalanism. The purpose of this video appeared to be to encourage viewers to identify with Catalonia's past and establish a sense of solidarity with the protagonists of the video and the campaign itself. For example, the then Catalan president, Artur Mas dedicates his vote to the composer, Pau Casals; the opposition leader, Oriol Junqueras, dedicates his to the exiled president, Lluis Companys. The video's 17 protagonists include five women (of which two are the *Ara es l'hora* campaign leaders). Among the chosen deceased Catalans there is only one woman, the writer Mercè Rodoreda. In line with this relative absence, some gendered dimensions of new media are briefly discussed below.

7.6 Gender, new media and national identity

Despite its anonymity and potential for a gender-neutral environment, research on online communication shows that gender binaries persist (Arvidsson and Foka, 2015) and it is argued that traditional offline gender roles are, to a large extent, transferred to online communication (Herring, 2003). This is supported by recent studies such as Rose et al.'s (2012) study of images posted on Facebook. They found that users displayed traits that conform to gender stereotypes with males presenting themselves more as active, independent and dominant and females rating higher in traits such as attractiveness, dependence and sentimentality. Similarly, Bailey et al. (2013) examined the association between gender performances and stereotypes on social media sites and found that these sites help to reaffirm stereotypical conceptions of gender and inhibit defiant gender performances. Other studies

on gender and microblogging have found gendered differences in discursive strategies in the creation of hashtags are linked to expected gender roles (Cunha et al., 2014). In a large scale study of linguistic styles on Twitter, Bamman et al. (2014) found the use of mainstream gendered linguistic choices were correlated with the gender homophily of the user's social network.

It is argued that the internet has more power to facilitate and increase the spread of nationalism than any other form of communication (Palmer, 2012), becoming the modern-day 'print revolution' that, according to Anderson (1983), caused the spread of national consciousness in the 16th century. Recent studies related to this include the online construction of national identities in Anglophone Cameroon (Anyefru, 2008) and South Korea (Lee, 2006). Relatedly, KhosraviNik and Zia (2014) examine how Persian nationalism and identity are discursively constructed on Facebook by opposing an invasion of the Arabic 'other'. Gender however is not considered in any of these studies. In his book *Ethnopolitics in Cyberspace,* Saunders (2011) examines the relatively unexplored area of the impact of new media on ethnic and national identities in minority nations. However, he only briefly addresses gender when discussing the potential of the internet in helping to expand women's roles within a male-dominated Roma community. Therefore, this gap in the research highlights the importance of examining online nationalism from a gendered perspective.

7.7 The small stories framework

The structure of the narratives found on social media are different from the interview data therefore I draw on the 'small stories' framework as an analytical tool. The framework was developed by Michael Bamberg, Alexandra Georgakopoulou and Luke Moissinac (e.g. Bamberg, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2005; Moissinac and Bamberg, 2005) as a paradigm for narrative and identity research. Small story research was originally developed as an alternative to traditional models of narrative research which examine the 'Big Stories', i.e. the life history or biographical narrative such as those narrated in an interview context, where, as Bamberg (2006) argues, the story is elicited and the speaker has an opportunity for reflection. Conversely, small stories are short and refer to 'stories told in interaction; stories that do not necessarily thematize the speaker, definitely not a whole life […]' (ibid.: 63). Small stories are defined as:

> under-represented and 'a-typical' narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 130).

The dominant approach to narrative studies followed the restrictive structural criteria of Labov's (1972) classic narrative (Dayter, 2015). According to Labov's (1972) seminal model, the classic narrative contains a structural, temporal order, divided into the following elements: abstract (a brief summary), orientation (time, place, and participants), complicating action (core narrative), evaluation (key event, climax of narrative), resolution (conclusion), and a coda (signalling end of narrative). Classic narrative analysis is often used to research how people make sense of their selves and how they construct their

identities, particularly in a research interview context. However, narratives that are told outside the interview situation, such as ordinary, interactive conversations, frequently do not follow the canonical Labovian structure and are often less coherent (Ochs & Capps, 2001). Therefore, as Labov (1997: 397) himself has accepted in a revision of his 1972 work: 'such narratives are often highly fragmented and may require a different approach'. In the context of small stories, narrative is considered as a social practice which is 'sequentially embedded into and occasioned by a single event and presents a trajectory and history beyond it' (Georgakopoulou, 2014: 520). Small story research seeks to challenge the master narrative of 'Big Stories', to uncover hidden, silenced or neglected stories. In this respect, as Georgakopoulou (2014) argues, small story research is not only a framework for narrative and identity research, but it also addresses epistemological issues and serves as a methodological tool.

There is a limited, yet growing body of literature on small story research that has been employed by scholars from a range of disciplines. For example, it has been used in studies on ethnic identities of migrants (Sprain & Hughes, 2015; Galasińska, 2009). Relatedly, Lee (2015) examines how transnational women narrate a sense of belonging through small stories. In the field of education, small story analysis has been applied to language teaching (Norton & Early, 2011; Watson, 2007). The use of small stories as an analytical tool to reveal hidden, silenced or devalued narratives is seen in research by Phoenix & Sparkes (2009) who identified in their case study of an older man counter-arguments to the master discourse of ageing. Similarly, Lenchuk & Swain's

(2010) work with an MS patient demonstrates the importance of the small story approach when working with people who suffer from cognitive impairment, such as MS or Alzheimer's patients.

Small story research has been applied to research with young people. For example, Morek (2014) examines the way adolescents expand their explanatory discourse skills through social interaction with their peers. Spreckels (2008) and Lawson (2013) explore gendered identities in German and Scottish adolescents. Gender equality is examined in small story narratives about sport (Hardin & Whiteside, 2009) and Georgakopoulou (2006, 2008) studies social interaction with young women in Greece and school children in London. In her research, she identified what she calls the 'breaking news' genre of small stories which are characterised by the sense of immediacy to share an event straightaway (ibid.). In the case of the school children, she identified how they engaged with multiple forms of new media in order to share their 'breaking news' stories (Georgakopoulou, 2008).

In line with the 'breaking news' genre, more recently, small story research has been applied to examine communication on social media platforms. The departure from a linear, coherent unfolding of a story to the reality of the 'messiness' of our stories (Georgakopoulou, 2014: 4) makes social media an ideal research environment for small stories. Although to date there is very little empirical research, there are some examples of recent studies in this area. For instance, Georgakopoulou (2013) looks at narrative stance taking in YouTube comments following a Greek news story and Dayter (2015) explores how individuals construct their identities through fragmented storytelling on

Twitter. Georgalou (2015) investigates the use of Facebook as a channel for storytelling during the Greek financial crisis and Page (2012) examines the small stories produced on Facebook status updates. Georgakopoulou (2014: 12) argues that social media platforms allow 'the sharing [of] life in miniaturized form' and enable users to share their information using a variety of multi-modal resources. Current work is concerned with how stories on social media interweave with offline experiences and what are the socio-political consequences of engagement in social media (ibid.), such as the impact of grassroots mobilisation that is explored in the data presented here. Moreover, the findings presented in this chapter will fill the current research gap linking small stories, multimodality, gender and social media.

I have adopted the small story framework as a heuristic for analysis of the Twitter and Facebook data. The social media data I have collected do not necessarily contain the prototypical criteria for them to be recognised as a classic narrative, although many of the tweets and comments may indeed contain some of the Labov's (1972) canonical elements, described above. However, my interest lies in how the tweets and comments – people's small stories – are used to construct an identity, a 'sense of who they are' (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 382). Thus, through the small story approach, I concentrate on the representations and constructions of national identity, nationhood and gender found in the tweets and Facebook comments. Analysis of social media complements the oral history and discourse analysis approach employed in the data collection and analysis of the interviews. Small stories establish a connection between past and future interactions and as such 'are

heavily embedded in their immediate discourse surroundings but also in a larger history of their interactions in which they are intertextually linked' (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 148). This highlights the notion that narrative is not a detached, discrete unit, it occurs in a 'discourse environment' (ibid.: 4). As the following analyses show, in my data, users' comments or tweets (their small stories) do not appear in a vacuum; as well as a present-day context for the posts, there is also an historical context. I will show how users create a virtual community of co-constructed stories by narrating a shared history and future. Small story research therefore provides an appropriate analytical link between the interview and social media datasets. Finally, throughout this study I have also drawn on stancetaking as an analytical framework. Stance is considered a key concept in analysing social media data (Barton & Lee, 2013). On social media, a stance is not just taken by a single individual; the comments system and the ability to repost or retweet means that stances are constantly being created and negotiated by many different users. Moreover, as I will show in what follows, multimodal stancetaking is made possible through images, photographs and videos (ibid.).

7.8 Social media: Twitter and Facebook

Social media is an umbrella term given to web-based platforms that enable users to engage in social interaction (Zappavigna, 2012). These platforms, or social network sites, are defined by boyd and Ellison (2007) as services that allow users to create a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, to generate a list of users with whom they share a common interest and to view the activities of their connections. Facebook started as a college network

in 2004 and was publicly launched in 2005 (ibid.). Facebook users can become 'friends' with other users, send messages through email or instant messaging and post messages on other users' profiles (Page, 2012). Twitter was launched in 2006 as a microblogging service. Small messages, known as tweets, of up to 140 characters in length can be published online and are shown as a reverse chronological stream of content. Twitter users can receive a stream of other users by 'following' other Twitter accounts (Zappavigna, 2012). A convention of Twitter is the hashtag (#) whereby users place a hashtag before text which makes a tweet more searchable by other users (ibid.). Hashtags provide a way to assign a keyword to a message which establishes the topic of the tweet and therefore serves as a type of metadata (ibid.). Both Facebook and Twitter platforms enable users to upload images, videos and links to other multimedia sites. At the time of writing, Facebook has an average of 1.59 billion monthly active users (Facebook, 2016) and Twitter has approximately 320 million monthly active users (Twitter, 2016).

7.8.1 Social Media Data

The dataset used for this analysis derive from a corpus of 6,846 tweets and 672 Facebook comments.[78] The tweets were collected using Twitter's advanced search function. All tweets containing the hashtag *#votarepertu* were captured from the date of the video release on 1/11/14 up to and including 9/11/14, the date of the popular consultation. Tweets were copied into a plain text file, cleaned and formatted using the application ScratchCat

[78] The raw data is attached to the thesis as a text file on a USB drive.

which is an open source data formatting application for tweets (Goldenhen, 2015). The tweets were also copied separately into a Word document for subsequent image analysis. To ensure all the tweets had been collected, a random check was carried out comparing a selection of the downloaded tweets from the beginning and end of the feed with the actual Twitter page. In order to make analysis more manageable, a sample of 373 tweets were taken from the finite population. This number was calculated based on a 95% confidence level and a margin of error of +/- 5%, thus ensuring a representative sample of the total Twitter corpus (Agresti & Finlay, 2014). Systematic sampling was used in order to identify the number of tweets from men and women which provides a good representative, unbiased sample of the population (ibid.). Profile descriptions and photos were viewed to assign gender to the users. After cleaning the data of unidentified tweets or tweets posted by organisations (*n* = 49), 126 tweets were identified as posted by women and 198 by men. Extrapolating these results, it can be estimated that tweets from women represent just under 39% (38.9%) of the total dataset and 61% from men. The Facebook data were collected from the Facebook pages of ANC, Òmnium and *Ara es l'hora.* The data were captured in the same way as the Twitter data and copied into a word document. Although there were some additional challenges in collecting the Facebook data,[79] the dataset consisted of 672 comments and as it was a more manageable size it was manually cleaned of unidentifiable comments and the number of comments posted by men and women were manually identified. Therefore the final total

[79] Collecting data from Facebook is not as straightforward as Twitter where tweets attached to a single hashtag can be fairly easily collated. Comments are not searchable by hashtag on Facebook therefore it is more time consuming as I needed to manually go through and extract the relevant comments.

of comments was 669; 375 were identified to be from women and 294 from men. In percentage terms, women's comments represent 56% of the total and 44% of comments are from men. In terms of language used in the tweets, Catalan is the preferred choice of language. Based on the systematic sample of the Twitter data, 82% (*n* = 306) of tweets are in Catalan and a total of 89.4% (*n* = 598) of Facebook comments are in Catalan.

The data collected was limited to publicly accessible tweets containing the hashtag *votarepertu* and all comments relating to *votarepertu* posted on the three Facebook pages. The sample size was thus limited to tweets and comments relating to the campaign video and slogan and is not intended to be representative of the larger Catalan population. Further, the dataset may not be representative of all tweets and comments from protected accounts and there may be missing data from public accounts (boyd & Crawford, 2012). Identifying information was removed to protect users' anonymity and all user names in the tweets were anonymised with the convention @user.

7.9 Data Analysis

The data were analysed in two stages. First, the data were imported into the corpus software application AntConc which is an open source corpus analysis toolkit for text analysis (Anthony, 2015). Given the number of tweets and comments, beginning with a corpus-based approach enabled me to establish a broad picture of the dataset (Baker, 2006). I used the Word List, Concordance and Clusters/N-grams functions of AntConc to identify key words, recurring themes and most frequently used hashtags which would

guide me in the next stage of the analysis. The codebook can be found in Appendix III. The second stage of the analysis employed multimodal discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2005; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; van Leeuwen & Kress, 2011).). 'Multimodal' indicates that more than one semiotic code is used to produce meaning in a particular discourse instance, for example texts, images and gestures. Thus this is an appropriate approach to use in order to analyse the different semiotic resources used in the tweets and comments. I draw on theories of national identity (Smith, 1991; Guibernau, 1996) and gender and nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997) as a starting point to identify the different practices of national identity construction. The textual and visual representations were manually coded based on five emergent themes: emotional attachment, history, culture, future goals and gendered nationalism (see codebook in Appendix IV). The themes were categorised as follows, adapting Wodak et al.'s (2009) matrix in their study of the discursive construction of national identity in Austria:

1. national sentiment: passion, emotional attachment to country
2. collective history: myths, triumphs, defeats
2. collective culture: symbols, language, literature, music
3. shared destiny: future goals, aspirations
4. gendered constructions of nationhood

These themes are described and exemplified in the next section, firstly from the perspective of a common construction of national identity and secondly from a gendered perspective.

7.9.1 Discursive Construction of Catalan National Identity

In the previous chapter, there were a number of salient strategies the women used to construct their national identity. As we saw, through a particular language use or cultural behaviour, the women indexed multiple identities and at times, both native Catalans and migrant women positioned themselves in line with a Catalan national ideology. In both the Twitter and Facebook data, similar strategies employed by users were identified to index Catalan identity. In addition, features common to social media, such as the use of hashtags, were used to index national discourse:

- ***The use of 'we' and 'the other'***

  Use of the first person plural subject pronoun or a verb inflected in the first person plural (subject pronouns do not need to be expressed in Catalan or Spanish as the verb identifies the subject). Use of 'they' which is often implicitly referring to the Spanish community.

- ***Justification of vote/secession***

  References to past or present injustices, such as references to historic battles, the Fascist regime or present-day fiscal injustices.

- ***Images & multimedia***

  Inclusion of photographs, images of flags or iconic Catalan cultural images, hyperlinks to videos, press articles.

- ***Hashtags and other character symbols***

  Use of hashtags (in the Twitter data) and other character symbols that have been modified to index identity (for example using characters such as ll*ll to represent the *estelada*).

In this section, ideological spaces are reproduced through discourses of nation and national identity, virtual national space is created through tweets, comments and the semiotic displays of identity in photographs and images. Temporal space is created through the historic events recreated through the tweets, comments and the women's narratives.

7.9.2 National sentiment: identity and attachment

National sentiment is identified through references to people's emotional attachment to Catalonia; lexis indexing love for the country, the land, its people and language. Users demonstrate strong feelings of national sentiment and attachment through tweets, comments and accompanying images. In this way they generate emotional bonds and a collective identity (Guibernau, 2004). For example, in the following tweet, collective identity and distinctiveness is created through the use of 'we' and 'us' together with a strong distancing from Spain. The user clearly employs tactics of adequation (foregrounding the in-group) and distinction, highlighting the relationality principle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005):

1. *#VotarePerTu #votarePerTotsNosaltres pels q no ens sentim espanyols, pels que volem la llibertar, en definitiva els que ens sentim catalans.*

   #IWillVoteForYou #IwillvoteForAllofUs for those of us who don't feel Spanish, for those of us who want freedom, in short, for those of us who feel Catalan.

Similarly, a powerful sense of belonging is evident in example 2 from a Facebook comment. The word choices of 'blood' and 'sweat' suggest an embodied attachment to their country:

2. *Jo voto per mi, perquè si soc aquí, es perquè porto la sang de tota la meva família des de fa segles, que va posar el seu granet de sorra, la seva suor i el seu esforç. El meu vot val per tots ells!!! En les nostres mans està construir un món millor!!!*

   I vote for me, because if I am here it is because I carry the blood of my family from centuries ago, they put their tiny grain of sand, their sweat and their toil. My vote is for all of them!!! Building a better world is in our hands!!!

In a similar way, I found feelings of belonging associated with a physical attachment to place in the women's narratives. In the previous chapter, for example, I discussed Josepa's attachment to her street, demonstrating a very local level of imagining the national space.

It was raining on the day of the consultation and the sentiment and strength of attachment to Catalonia can be seen in Figure 4 which was retweeted several times. The use of 'our ancestors' implicitly signifies division from the 'other' Spanish population:

Figure 4: Today it is not raining in Catalonia, it is our ancestors crying with emotion

The above examples all demonstrate the users' emotional attachment to their land. The selection of the words 'blood', 'sweat' and 'tears' are strong symbols of national belonging; blood implying an authentic or naturalised Catalan heritage, sweat and tears manifesting the effort and emotion invested in the

Catalan national project. The use of ‘we’, ‘our’, ‘us’ also suggests a shared story (Georgakopoulou, 2007); intimating that whoever reads these tweets and comments shares – or are invited to share – the same ideologies and subjectivities (White, 2015).

7.9.3 Hashtags and identity

Hashtags are a form of metadata used to denote the topic of a tweet and are often used as an identity marker (Zappavigna, 2012). The ten most frequent hashtags in the dataset are shown in Table 1. They range from indexing the campaign slogan (#*votarepertu*) and organising platform (#*araeslhora*) to references relating to the way people will vote (#yesyes) and the outcome of the vote (#*wehavevotedwehavewon*). Two of the most frequent hashtags are in English.

No.	Hashtag	Translation/explanation
1	#votarepertu	#iwillvoteforyou
2	#9N2014	Date of consultation
3	#catalansreadytovote	[Hashtag in English]
4	#araeslhora	Name of campaign organising platform
5	#desobeim	#wewilldisobey
6	#sisi	#yesyes
7	#catalansarereadytovote	[Hashtag in English]
8	#votarem	#wewillvote
9	#todosavotar	#everyonetovote
10	#hemvotathemguanyat	#wehavevotedwehavewon

Table 1: Ten most frequent hashtags in votarepertu Twitter corpus.

Popular hashtags repeatedly employ the first person plural verb inflection (equivalent to ‘we’ in English) to show collective action and a united front in the voting process. As shown in other research on Twitter (e.g. Gruzd et al., 2011; Zappavigna, 2012), through the use of hashtags, users in the dataset create a virtual community where collective emotions and shared convictions are very salient. Zappavigna (2012) argues that hashtags allow users to share common values and they are also used to indicate solidarity when users identify with a particular cause. This is evident in the adoption of the most frequent hashtags in the corpus that demonstrate support for the campaign and the repetition of ‘we’ indexes a collective identity. Further examples below also use identity narratives of ‘us’ and ‘them’ to index solidarity with the Catalan community or to alienate the Spanish community, implicitly indexed in the third example, and more explicitly in the fourth:

i. #oplimlesurnes *(#wewillfilltheballotboxes)*

ii. #volemvotar *(#wewanttovote)*

iii. #noensaturaran *(#theywon’tstopus)*

iv. #adeuespanya *(#goodbyespain)*

Other hashtags emphasise the differences between Catalonia and Spain and serve to strengthen the tweeter’s Catalan identity and this can sometimes be marked through language choice. As Castells (2010a) argues, language acts as a differentiating marker and a number of hashtags are posted in English, as shown in the following examples:

v. #catalonianewstateofeurope

vi. #CatalansAreReadyToVote

vii. #cataloniaisnotspain

The conscious choice of English may serve as a subversive way to further reinforce users' identity not only as Catalan but also as *not Spanish*. It may also be used to fulfil other purposes: firstly it could be a way of communicating with the rest of Spain without having to use the Spanish language. Secondly, it could be used as a way to garner support from the international community. Finally, the tweets in English further distance the users from the rest of Spain. As I showed previously in the women's narratives, some of them spoke about identifying more with Europe; Marta said *'em sento més europea que espanyola no em diu res dir ser espanyola'* (I feel more European than Spanish, it doesn't mean anything to me to say I'm Spanish). This sense of European-ness forms part of the Catalan national narrative and is another way of constructing the 'Modern Catalonia' versus 'Old Spain' dichotomy.

In addition to using hashtags as identity markers, in both the Twitter and Facebook data, many user profile IDs include character symbols, text or images with references to Catalonia, the consultation or the independence process. This emphasises their national sentiment and solidarity towards the process and further indexes the users' ideology:

Twitter profile ID	
ll*ll	The symbol of the *estelada*, the Catalan pro-independence flag, is reproduced many times.
JorDUI !!*!!	The user's name (Jordi) has been modified to include the acronym *DUI* (*declaració unilateral d'independencia* or Unilateral declaration of independence).
Olga#SiSi	(Olga#YesYes).The user's ID incorporates one of the campaign's hashtags used to suggest the way people should vote.

In the Facebook data, the following images (Figures 5, 6 and 7) illustrate how some users' profile pictures manifest their solidarity with the independence process and show how multimodal stancetaking is made possible on social media platforms:

Figure 5: I want to be free

Figure 6: Keep calm & bye bye Spain

Figure 7: Estelades

Previous research on Facebook profile photos suggests that the identity claims that these images appear to make are grounded in their offline identities (Grasmuck et al., 2009), and the three examples above would seem to explicitly index the users' Catalan identity and ideology. Further, in Figure 5, the user also employs entexualisation as a semiotic resource. Entexualisation is the process whereby a particular discourse (historically, culturally or socially situated) is taken from its original context and inserted into a new context (Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein & Urban, 1996). In this example, the 'Keep Calm' poster produced by the British government at the start of the Second World War (Hughes, 2009) is modified and recontextualised to fit into the context of Catalan independence.

7.9.4 Construction of collective history

Another way of showing national identity is through historical references (Smith, 1998). Collective history is indexed by references to myths, historical

figures, triumphs and defeats and the strength of national identity stems from an enduring community (ibid.). Historic references help to construct the impression of continuity and a unique Catalan history and these discourses can be organised as temporal space. References frequently appear in the data with mentions of the Catalans' defeat in battles, their suffering during the war and the Franco regime and their determination not to be overcome. As seen in the earlier chapter, this discourse also permeated the women's narratives. The sense of constant persecution is evident when Elisenda spoke about Catalonia feeling badly treated *'pero no ahora eh, de siglos'* (but not just now, eh, for centuries). In a similar manner, example 3 below cites the Catalans' defeat in the Siege of Barcelona during the War of Succession in 1714 which, although not a struggle for independence, has been used by nationalists to mark the beginnings of their fight for freedom (Conversi, 1997). The Catalans' defeat in the Siege is commemorated every year on 11th September, known as *La Diada,* which is a national holiday in Catalonia and towns and villages throughout the region lay flowers in homage to the Catalans who died in the battle (Crameri, 2014). The date was particularly pertinent in 2014 as it marked the 300th anniversary of the siege. The grassroots movements used the myth to impart this sense of antiquity into the Catalan struggle for independence and this discourse was swiftly taken up by social media users:

3. *Fa 300 anys vàrem ser derrotats però no vençuts. Ara, anem i recuperem la llibertat! #ALesNostresMans #VotaréPerTu #CatalunyaLliure.*

   300 years ago we were defeated but not overcome. Now, let's go and get our freedom back! #InOurHands #IWillVoteForYou #FreeCatalonia.

The above tweet (3) is also an example of intertextuality. The concept refers to when a text makes reference or links to a previous text (Blommaert, 2005) thus a certain cultural knowledge is required by others in order to understand it. In this way, example 3 also functions as a shared story and by reaffirming a unique history and through the repeated use of 'we', it delineates the Catalans from the rest of Spain who are considered the 'alien Other' (Bell, 2003: 70). Users reproduce Catalonia's past and antiquity as a way of legitimising it as a nation. Examples 4 and 5 below, document a different period of history, during the civil war and the dictatorship, yet they still clearly separate the *Republic* from the Francoist 'alien Other' that is Spain as example 4 illustrates. There are also a number of tweets and comments that quote the final part of a famous speech by the exiled Catalan president Lluís Companys, who was captured and executed during the Franco regime, as can be seen in example 5. This is another example of intertextuality and entextualisation. The choice of phrase communicates memories of past struggles among a homogenous group and shared experiences of the present 'fight' for independence; the repetitive use of 'we' suggests solidarity:

4. *Pels meus avis, mestres de la República i represaliats pel franquisme #VotaréPerTu.*

   For my grandparents, teachers of the Republic and victims of Francoist retaliation. #Iwillvoteforyou.

5. *Tornarem a sofrir, tornarem a lluitar, tornarem a Vèncer! Lluís Companys, #votarepertu!*

   We will suffer again, we will fight again, we will overcome again! Lluís Companys, #Iwillvoteforyou!

7.9.5 Common culture

I have shown previously the way some of the women index their Catalan national identity by the negative stance they take against Spain and its culture, therefore constructing their Catalan identity through this sense of difference. For example, Lourdes spoke about her dislike for bullfighting: '*no tenim els mateixos costums, no ens agrada el mateix. Aquí han prohibit els braus, amb ells és la fiesta nacional'* (we don't have the same customs, we don't like the same things. Here they have prohibited the bulls, with them it's their national event). In the social media data, there were many references to stereotypical Catalan culture. Tweets and comments were often accompanied by photographs of cultural figures, such as Catalan poets, writers and musicians and also images of traditional costumes and rituals. This demonstrates how users effectively 'essentialise' the nation through cultural reproduction in their posts and create a virtual ideological space. Instances of these in the data illustrate how Catalan identity is reinforced with references to popular Catalan culture, such as the *Sardana,*[80] the Catalan national dance, in example 6 from Facebook:

6. *Jo votaré pel meu avi Felip Tenas i Menéndez, mestre sardanista de Malgrat de Mar, va ensenyar a ballar sardanes a moltes generacions i a mi mateixa. PER TU AVI MEU!!!*

   I will vote for my grandfather, Sardana teacher from Malgrat de Mar, he taught me and many generations how to dance Sardanas. FOR YOU MY GRANDFATHER!!!

[80] The *Sardana* is considered by some as a 'prototypical invented tradition' (Brandes, 1990: 24). The dance evolved from other Catalan folk dances in the mid-19th century and as part of the emerging national consciousness developed, was viewed by *Catalanistas* as part of the Catalan heritage (Martí, 1994: 41).

As explored previously in chapter six, a number of the women's narratives included discourse of the flag as a metaphor for nation. In the social media data, the flag produces a semiotic landscape indexing a particular claim to an identity and creating a virtual national physical space. Guibernau (1996) argues that symbols, such as the flag, stand for something by themselves but also the 'flag bearer' provides part of their meaning. This can be illustrated by the prolific posting of the *estelada*, the unofficial pro-independence flag, which clearly indexes the users' ideology. Just a few examples of these can be seen in Figures 8, 9 and 10 below:


Figure 8: Girl & flag


Figure 9: Estelada


Figure 10: Old woman & flag

The following example (7) cites the children's magazine *'Cavall Fort'* (Strong Horse). The comic was first published in the early 1960s and was one of the few means that children had to learn to read in Catalan at that time (Conversi, 1997). In chapter four, Laia also explained the importance of the comic for her and her siblings growing up in the 1960s:

7. *#VotarePerTu, 'cavall fort', la revista que, encara que dirigida als infants, em va obrir els ulls a la cultura escrita catalana.*

   #Iwillvoteforyou, 'cavall fort', the magazine that, even though it was for children, opened my eyes to Catalan written culture.

Other examples with cultural content include the following tweet (8) that uses a line from a song by the Catalan Jazz/Rock band *Elèctrica Dharma*, whose

presence on the Catalan music scene has been very influential since the early 1970s. The phrase ‘the common heart beats’ (example 8) reinforces a collective identity and the vote dedicated to one of the band’s recently deceased members (Josep Fortuny) emphasises a distinct musical culture that separates the Catalan community from the rest of Spain:

8. *Avui més que mai "La nit s'encén i el cor comú batega!" Josep Fortuny #VotarePerTu #CataloniaWin #OmplimLesUrnes.*

   Today more than ever ‘the night lights up and the common heart beats!’ Josep Fortuny #Iwillvoteforyou #CataloniaWin #wewillfilltheballotboxes.

Both examples 7 and 8 are two more instances of shared stories and intertextuality that help to create a bond amongst the virtual community. These cultural references are unique to this community and Adami (2012: 143) suggests that being part of a shared narrative gives a sense of enjoyment and indeed an ‘elitist feeling’ to those who are able to share this cultural knowledge and understand the inferences in the texts. This suggests the creation of a virtual national space that excludes others who do not have this cultural knowledge and, as previously noted, demonstrates how a particular stance is not just taken by an individual but is co-constructed on social media by many different users (Barton & Lee, 2013).

7.9.6 Shared destiny

The notion of a common destiny can be shared by a given population, handed down over generations through culture and values and internalised as part of oneself (Smith, 1992). A number of tweets and comments contain references relating to the collective belief of a common destiny and future, creating a temporal space, as illustrated in examples 9 and 10 below:

9. *#VotarePerTu x vosaltres, x el futur en un #NouPaís que tenim l'oportunitat de fer més just i democràtic. @user3.*

   #IWillVoteForYou for all of you, for the future in a #NewCountry that we can make more just and democratic. @user3.

10. *@user4, i jo #VotarePerTu, per la lluita que hem compartit i perquè seguim tenint tot un futur per començar!*

    @user4, and I #IWillVoteForYou, for the struggle we have shared and because we have a whole future to begin!

Example 9 refers to a new 'democratic country', which adopts the rhetoric of mainstream discourse. The grassroots nationalist movements mobilised within civil society labelled the Spanish government 'undemocratic' for declaring the consultation illegal. From the beginning of the separatist campaign, activists started to use the slogan *'dret a decidir'* (right to decide) as the democratic right of Catalans to decide their own future (Guibernau, 2014). These comments index history; Spain is synonymous with the Francoist dictatorship and therefore undemocratic. Many of these posts are accompanied by images of babies or children casting their parents' vote. One tweet (example 11) included the image of a baby stating '*I want: to grow up in a free, just and prosperous country'.*

11. *Roger, aquesta tarda #votarépertu #9N2014 #sísí*

    Roger, this afternoon, #IWillVoteForYou #9N2014 #yesyes

Figure 11: I want to live in a free, just and prosperous country

This image, along with the many other images posted of children suggests the importance of the nationalist project for the next generation of Catalans and, together with the examples of the older generations, manifests an embodied continuity of the nation. It also reflects the mood of the online community: their wish to exercise the right to decide their own future and build a new nation based on democratic values.

7.10 A gendered construction of nation: binary gender roles

The stances taken in the tweets and comments align with the dominant nationalist discourse in Catalonia. The above examples, posted by both men and women, do not appear to reveal any differences in the way social media users articulate these discourses of national identity. However, there does appear to be a difference in how men and women are represented in the data. A narrative common to nationalist projects portrays the nation's men in the public space, fighting for freedom and making history. This is the national narrative created by Franco's National-Catholic ideology (as is the case with most nationalist ideologies) that intended to define clearly demarcated gendered roles: men as soldiers and producers, women as biological reproductive mothers (Morcillo, 2010: 32). In the social media data typically men are depicted as going to war to defend the nation, dying for their country or facing exile or imprisonment, as the following three examples demonstrate:

12. *Mun iaio republicà va morir afusellat a la Guerra Civil, mai hem sabut on està enterrat. Demà #VotarePerTu! #9N #Catalunya #9NEbre.*

My republican grandfather was executed in the civil war, we have never found out where he is buried. Tomorrow #IWillVoteForYou! #9N #Catalonia #9NEbre.

13. *#VotaréPerTu Juan Pablo Rica, besavi meu afusellat i perdut en una fossa comuna més d 70 anys.*

    #IWillVoteForYou Juan Pablo Rica, my great-grandfather executed and lost in a mass grave for more than 70 years.

14. *Votaré i tant que votaré SI SI...perqué vui viure a una CATALUNYA LLIURE sense represio. I per la memoria del meu avi ENRIC que con tans d,altres van partir comdenes de preso i camps de concentració i una guerra que Varen perdre....VOTARE..*

    I will vote and of course I will vote YES YES…because I want to live in a FREE CATALONIA without repression. And in memory of my grandfather ENRIC who, with so many others, suffered prison sentences and concentration camps and a war that they lost.…I WILL VOTE..

These dedications not only show the men as soldiers but they also highlight the solidarity that is felt by the users when shared stories of suffering from the past create a bond with others in the community. The trope of suffering is common in nationalist discourse and Anderson (1983) argues it is the sense of community, or fraternity, which makes it possible for millions to willingly die for this imagined community. He goes on to suggest that this suffering and sacrifice is in the interest of 'transforming fatality into continuity' and thus the promise of a utopian free future (ibid.: 11). As in previous tweets, these examples reveal a present-day comparison with the past; wanting to live in a *'free Catalonia'* suggests a sense of continued repression. These sentiments were also expressed in the women's narratives exemplified earlier in chapter four, when they discussed the tensions between the central and Catalan governments surrounding the persistent linguistic repression.

While men occupy the public sphere, this traditional discourse depicts women as the homemakers, confined to the domestic space of the home. However, women have 'unofficially' been part of the public sphere in Spain for centuries (Borderías & Ferrer, 2015; Villalonga, 2002). Although particular periods throughout history affected the extent of their participation in the public sphere, women could be found working alongside the men in the fields in rural regions, working in the family business or engaging in politics (Nash, 1994). Following a brief historical background of women's integration in the Spanish labour market, this next section will examine the gendered construction of nation through women in the workplace, narratives of motherhood and political engagement. These themes will be examined using both the social media data and the oral history interviews. Physical and ideological spaces are reflected once more in the persistent binary of private and public spaces in the discourses of the workplace, motherhood and women's presence in the political arena.

7.10.1 Women in the workplace

Lack of records handicap research into the history of women in the workplace in Spain although recent data show that the presence of female workers in the 18th century and the 19th century throughout various parts of the country was higher than in the rest of Europe (Borderías & Ferrer, 2015). In the context of Catalonia, the important contribution of women's labour in the textile industry in the period of industrialisation of the 19th century and the early 20th century is well-documented (Balcells, 2015; Borderías, 2003). The civil war opened up further opportunities for women to enter the workplace, for example in

factories, healthcare and public transport (Graham, 2003; Nash, 1995). However, following the civil war, life for women changed under the Francoist regime. The creation of a *Nuevo Estado* (New State) recovered the traditional, patriarchal family and returned women to the home. Married women were prohibited from working if their husband's salaries were sufficient (although this did mean that many working-class women needed to work outside the home) (Morcillo, 2000). Men were considered the economical backbone of the family and women were subject to subordination to their father or husband under the regimes paternalistic policies (Babiano, 2005). Grounded in National-Catholic ideology, women and motherhood became the symbol of the nation. Motherhood was a woman's national obligation and her sacrifice to serve the fatherland was considered a virtue (Morcillo, 2000).

The *Sección Femenina* (Women's section) of the *Falange*, Spain's fascist party, was responsible for the nationalisation of women and organising the *Servicio Social* (Social Service), initially established as a war relief system in the rebel zone in 1937. The Social Service became a mandatory national duty for all unmarried and able-bodied women between the ages of 17 and 35. They were instructed in the ideology of the State, domestic duties such as sewing, cooking and childcare and had to carry out voluntary service in public institutions such as hospitals or nurseries (Rabazas & Ramos, 2006). Women needed to complete six months service in order to obtain a completion certificate which was the only way they could access public employment, get a driving licence or apply for a passport (Enders, 1992). Although many women used various means to avoid completing the Social Service, it was only

abolished, along with the *Sección Femenina*, in 1978 (Threlfall, 2005). A number of the older women I interviewed spoke about the Social Service. For example, Agnès told me that she could not get her Baccalaureate certificate until she completed the social service and in order to graduate as a teacher she had to complete a month-long camp run by the *Sección Femenina*. One of the other women, however, was able to use it to her advantage. Sílvia explained that without having completed her Social Service she would not have been able to learn to drive as her father would not have permitted it. Having a driving licence enabled her to find work: '*em vaig anar a l'autoescola Lluch perquè tenia el servei social fet sino no em dona permis el meu pare, eh! ((risa))'* (I went to the driving school because I'd done my Social Service otherwise my father wouldn't have given me permission, eh! ((laughs))). In this respect, Kaplan (1999) argues that although the ideology of the *Servicio Social* was one of subordination of women and indoctrination of traditional values, indirectly it did enable some mobilisation into the public sphere as well as some participation in political activities. Nevertheless, although women from the Francoist regime who were involved in the *Sección Femenina* defended their work as helping to improve Spanish women's conditions, criticism from the left claimed that they preserved and exacerbated the traditional Spanish woman as a submissive, uncultured wife and mother (Enders, 1999).

In the early years of the regime, as noted earlier, laws were introduced to prohibit married women from working and an incentive known as *la dote* (dowry) was paid by employers to women to encourage them to give up work when they married (Nash, 1994). During this time, women did not cease

working; many continued working in family businesses or, if work was dependent on necessity, factory work suited a low-skilled female workforce (Díaz Sánchez, 2013). However, women began to re-enter the workplace in force in the late 1950s as a result of economic changes and the subsequent emigration of a large proportion of the male workforce to other European countries such as Germany and France (Morcillo, 2010).

7.10.2 Motherhood: reconciling the public and the private

With the exception of one of the migrant women, all the women in my study worked or had worked throughout their lives outside the home. Only one had taken a short career break when her children were young. Motherhood and the restrictions this imposed on their careers was a recurring narrative. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, some women found their status as a single mother a barrier to finding work. Maite married and had her first child in 1975 at the age of 17:

> *Va ser els principis de la lliurament de la dona per dir-lo d'alguna manera i havia molta llibertat i t'incitaven al tema del sexo i el sexo llibre i tal i tal però les farmàcies no vendrien preservatius ni pastilles anticonceptives i així hi havia moltes criatures arrel d'això.*
>
> It was at beginnings of women's liberation if you want to call it that there was a lot of freedom and the subject of sex incited you and free sex and all that but the chemists didn't sell contraceptives or the pill and there were many kids born as a result of that (Maite, 56, 8/5/15).

After separating from her husband a year later, she explained some of the difficulties she had finding work. Her condition as a mother by definition did not fit in with employers' expectations of a dedicated worker and excluded her from the workplace:

> *era difícil trobar feina per a vàries raons. Primer perquè era una dona i per a una dona encara ara costa molt que la valgui el mateix que un home però imagina't llavors i perquè jo no vaig ser conscient jo deia que era separada i això em va tancar moltes portes però jo no me'n donava conta [...] el fet de ser separada i tenir una criatura era una cosa que no les empreses no encaixava.*
>
> it was difficult to find work for various reasons. First because I was a woman and for a woman it's still hard to be valued the same as a man but imagine what it was like then and I wasn't conscious I said I was separated and that closed many doors but I didn't realise […] being separated and having a kid was something that no it didn't fit in with companies (Maite, 56, 8/5/15).

Similarly, Claudia explained how her mother had to hide her identity as a separated mother when she was looking for work in order to 'have more opportunities' in the labour market:

> *estuvo buscando trabajo y me decía ella siempre decía que tenía hijos y tal llegó un momento que dejó de decirlo (.) ocultaba que tenía hijos y ocultaba que sus padres vivían con ella también er ocultaba realmente que tenía cargas familiares. Pensaba que así podía tener mas oportunidades.*
>
> she was looking for work and she told me that she always said that she had children and it got to the point that she stopped saying it (.) she hid the fact that she had children and that her parents lived with her as well er she actually hid the fact that she had any dependent family. She thought she would have more opportunities like that (Claudia, 27, 20/10/15).

These concerns did not just apply to the women of that period. My findings show similar examples of the exclusion that women, as mothers or even 'potential' mothers, experience in the labour market today. One young woman told me about a recent situation in her company when they were looking to hire another person:

> *ahora estoy recordando er comentarios dijo el coordinador es que hay una chica que es muy buena pero no sé si está embarazada o va ser madre porque está en la edad y lo mismo después sabes y pensaba yo y como va a hacer esto? sabes, si está en la edad de eso! […] lo tuvo presente a la hora de-.*

> I remember er comments the coordinator said there's this girl who is very good but I don't know if she's pregnant or if she's going to be a mother because she's at that sort of age and maybe later you know and I thought how can he say this you know? if she's at that sort of age! […] he had it in mind as a consideration (Mónica, 28, 21/10/15).

Another young woman, thirty year old Marina, had a similar experience. She explained how she was questioned in job interviews: '*preguntar-me si tinc parella, preguntar-me si vull ser mare, preguntar-me amb qui visc, sí, algú m'he trobat'* (ask me if I had a partner, if I wanted to be a mother, who do I live with, yes, in some I've come across this).

7.10.3 Negotiating conflicting priorities

The problems associated with reconciling work and motherhood were discussed by many of the women I interviewed. Whilst family support has always been a significant element of family life in Catalonia, as in the rest of Spain (Domingo & Moltó, 1998; Valiente, 2005), not everyone was able to rely on family networks. Dolors was still at university finishing her degree when she had her son at the age of 21 in the mid-1970s:

> *bueno amb un fill era complicat però ho vaig fer. Potser treballàvem més abans treballàvem de nit els caps de setmanes o sigui no sé jo penso que érem gent molt, molt treballadora. No sé, potser vaig acabar la carrera un any més tard o dos [...] no tenia allò dels avis no no hi eren, no ((risa)). Bueno és el que fèiem eh vull dir doncs això doncs ara un cangur ara una amiga, i així anàvem tirant [...] durant molts anys, molts no però 3 o 4, quan eren més menuts inclús tenia l'inconvenient de què treballava er nocturna en l'institut és a dir que podia ocupar-me poc en el moment en què ells arribaven d'escola de poc jo havia d'anar a treballar vull dir que però bueno ho fèiem.*
>
> well with a child it was complicated but I did it. Maybe we worked more then we worked at night at the weekend I don't know I think we were very very hard working people. Maybe I finished my degree one or two years late […] I didn't have that thing of the grandparents there weren't any ((laughs)). Well it's what we did eh I mean a babysitter here a friend there and we got by like that […] for many years well 3 or

> 4 when they [her children] were little I also had to work in the evenings at the secondary school so I wasn't able to be there for them much as soon as they got back from school it was nearly time for me to go to work but anyway that's what we did (Dolors, 60, 21/5/15).

In order to balance work with familial responsibilities the women depended on being able to find workable solutions. Some women did this by working from home. Before having children, Adelina worked for a textile company in the village. When the factory closed there was no redundancy money so they gave the women the sewing machines. She explained how she set up her machine in the laundry room: '*yo cosí aquí en casa. Yo tenía bueno la cocina mas grande y tenía un trocito de lavadero, tenía la maquina allí'* (I sewed here at home. I had a big kitchen and had a bit of a laundry room, I had the machine there). She worked freelance and in this way she was able to take her children to school and be there when they came home. Sara was able to continue working when her children were young by contracting babysitters and someone to take care of the cleaning:

> *el peso de criar a los niños lo he llevado yo el peso lo he llevado yo entonces bueno pues yo siempre he tenido una persona que me ha venido a limpiar la casa […] cuando los dos niños eran pequeños sí que es cierto que iba muy agobiada con el trabajo porque claro trabajaba las tardes trabajaba dos tardes todas las mañanas de 8.30 si no recuerdo mal, de 8.30 a 3.30 y las dos tardes que me quedaba pues hasta las 5.30, entonces claro cuando eran pequeños sí que era un problema tuve que coger una canguro por las tardes también claro, tenías aparte pues las cenas claro aunque te limpien la casa te has de preocupar por mil cosas mas te has de preocupar de la ropa te has de preocupar de la comida te has de preocupar de: te has de preocupar de 1000 cosas[…] pero bueno ibas agobiada un poco agobiada porque claro, tienes que llegar a todo es ya se sabe que que llegar a todo pues es difícil.*
>
> I have carried the weight of raising the children I have carried it well, I've always had someone to clean the house […] when my two children were small it's true that I was very stressed with work because I worked in the afternoons and every morning from 8.30 till 3.30 and the two afternoons I stayed until 5.30 so of course it was hard when they were little I had to get a babysitter in the afternoons

> and of course you had well dinners although you had your house cleaned you still have to take care of a thousand more things you have to take care of the laundry lunch you have to take care of: you have to take care of thousands of things […] but well I was stressed a bit stressed because of course you have to be everything and it's very difficult to do that (Sara, 49, 9/5/15).

Sara metaphorically describes her responsibility of raising her children as a 'weight'. The sense of burden of motherhood is implicitly described by most of the women who were mothers. A connection can be made here between the metaphor of motherhood as a burden and the 'burden of representation' described by Yuval-Davis (1997: 45). In their role as symbolic representatives of the collectivity, the burden of cultural and biological continuity is placed on them as mothers of the nation.

This discourse is found in the social media data also. Women are seen as the biological reproducers; the life-givers and nurturers (Coakley, 2012). The data show that women continue to be imagined, and indeed may imagine themselves, as the embodiment of the nation. In many of the tweets, comments and images explicit and implicit references are made of women as bearers of future generations. The fetishisation of the womb and the biological role of women is evident in the data. In the following example (15), a woman dedicates her vote to her yet-to-be conceived child, who, in her eyes, is imagined as a boy:

15. *#VotarePerTu, fill que encara no he concebut, amb l'esperança que visquis en un país digne, responsable i LLIURE. #cataloniaisnotspain #SiSi.*

    #IWillVoteForYou, son that I have yet to conceive, with the hope that you will live in a responsible, dignified and FREE country. #cataloniaisnotspain #YesYes.

Other posts are accompanied by images of pregnant women, or simply by metonymic images of a pregnant stomach, which can be seen as a way of objectifying women and reducing their role to one of biological reproduction, as shown in Figures 12, 13 and 14 below:

16. *Nosaltres ja hem votat. #3en1 #votarépertu #hemvotathemguanyat @assemblea Construim el futur dels que han de venir.*

    We have now voted. #3in1. #IWillVoteForYou #wehavevotedwehavewon. We are building the future for those who are yet to be born.

Figure 12: Pregnant woman voting

Figure 13: Pregnant woman 1: I will vote for you

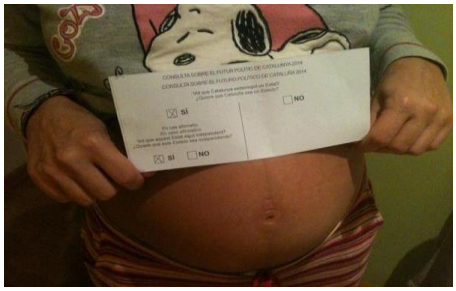

Figure 14: Pregnant woman 2

These images in particular appear to suggest the importance of the family which serves to strengthen women's maternal role as biological reproducers of the nation. Thus, the nationalisation of women in fact becomes the nationalisation of their bodies to serve the interests of the nation (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Another example of women performing stereotypical gender roles can be seen in the following tweet which contains the lines from *La Santa Espina*, a poem by Catalan poet Àngel Guimerà that became a patriotic anthem during the repressive Franco regime:

17. *Vota l'ocell, el riu, la planta, vota la lluna i el sol. Tot treballant la dona vota i vota al peu del bressol. #SomISerem #9N #VotaréPerTu.*

    The bird, the river, the plant votes, the moon and the sun votes. Whilst working the woman votes, and she votes from the foot of the cradle. #WeareAndWewillbe #9N #IWillVoteForYou.

This is another example of intertextuality and entextualisation. The user chooses a poem that has a strong significance and a Catalan identity and modifies the original lines of the poem whereby 'sing' is substituted by 'vote'. This tweet suggests that women's place is by the cradle, or that their maternal, nurturing side is always visible. Numerous images of babies, children and pregnant women along with tweets and comments dedicating votes to future generations replicate sexist and heteronormative conceptions about nationalist projects that echo the ideologies of Francoism and, of course, other nationalist ideologies (Bergès, 2012).

Finally, references are found in the data to women's roles as the guardians and reproducers of the Catalan language and culture. Peterson (2000: 67) argues that women are expected to rear children and transmit 'culturally appropriate' beliefs and loyalties including language, symbols and a group's identity. In earlier chapters I have shown how women carried out 'cultural work' in the private space of the home (Erel, 2011). However, it was not only the women who took on this role. As some women explained, their fathers were also influential in the transmission of language, culture and also political ideologies. Nonetheless, in the Twitter and Facebook data women continue to be represented in this way. This suggests that, in contrast to the men, women's place is in the private sphere of the home, for example:

18. *#VotarePerTu Per l'avia i els llibres en català que va haver d'amagar durant anys, pels que van lluitar sense poder fer el que jo si fare.*

    #IWillVoteForYou, for my grandmother and the Catalan books that she had to hide for many years, for their struggles without having the chance to do what I will do [vote].

The examples shown here from both datasets reveal an almost exaggerated emphasis on motherhood. In the interview data, even the narratives of the women who did not have children showed their preoccupation with motherhood. The symbols and discourse of maternalism further serve to reinforce the narrative of women's role as mothers of the nation (Sangster, 2006).

The above examples illustrate the narratives told by today's Catalan society are embedded in their past experiences and show how stereotypical mainstream conceptions of gender are often reproduced or transferred from an offline to an online environment. These findings support other research by Bailey et al., (2013), Herring (2003) and Rose et al., (2012). The gendered representations seen in the data reinforce traditional concepts of the nation where history focuses on men being central to a national project whilst women take on a passive, subordinate role (Palau, 2010).

7.10.4 Domestic division of labour

These mainstream conceptions of gendered roles are salient in the interviews in relation to the division of labour in the home. This topic surfaced in nearly all the interviews when the women were discussing women's equality and progress. When women first became integrated into the labour market,

practices within families did not adapt to meet the new roles of the working woman (Tobío, 2001). Although a number of the women in my study considered they shared the housework, closer analysis reveals that most of the women, regardless of age, bear the weight of household chores and the gendered division of domestic labour continues. Women frequently used the term *'colaborar'* (collaborate) when talking about their partners*: 'sí colaboraba, pero colaboraba, no hacía lo mismo que yo'* (yes, he collaborated, but he collaborated, he didn't do the same as me). However, some of the older women did consider that the role of the woman in the home had changed. Agnès spoke about the differences between her generation and her children's:

> *el hombre tampoco no hacía mucho porque estaban acostumbrados a que se les hacían todo en su casa. Yo me acuerdo de que Alfonso aquí en casa siempre me ayudó pero me ayudó yo siempre digo ayudar pero no porque me tiene que ayudar la casa es de los dos y seguimos diciendo eso ayudar. Y no! Y eso de ayudar no. Pero tenía sus cosas pasaba la aspiradora y los niños les decía cuando sea mayor yo les decía me ayudareis y decían si pasaremos la aspiradora. Claro la figura masculina que veían era su padre pasando la aspiradora entonces pasarían la aspiradora! […] bueno ahora no ahora lo veo por mis hijos que empiezan ya la maternidad si la sigue llevando la madre pero el trabajo de la casa ya es compartido.*
>
> the man didn't do much because they were used to everything being done at home. I remember that Alfonso [her husband] always helped me but he helped me I always say help but no, why should he help me? The house is both of ours and we still keep saying this help. And no! The thing of helping, no. But he would vacuum and I said to my sons when you're older will you help me and they said yes they would vacuum. Of course the masculine figure they saw was their father vacuuming! But now, no, I see it with my sons they are starting now- maternity is still a woman's responsibility but housework is shared (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15).

Other women of that generation wanted to inculcate the shared division of domestic chores from an early age. Rosa was born in 1940 and has four sons. She feels that her feminist approach to mothering, that she said '*es algo que*

llevo en las entrañas' (is something that I carry in my conscience), has paid off with her children by breaking down strict gender roles in the home:

> *yo quiero un mundo igualitario tanto para hombres como para mujeres […] en casa se nota pues se nota que tiene una madre feminista […] o sea el Pau hace todo lo que puede hacer una mujer, no? De encargarse de la responsabilidad de la casa la crianza de los hijos sí, esto se ha notado, y luego los hijos de de mujeres feministas de ha de notar no?*
>
> I want an equal world for both men and women […] you could see it at home that they had a feminist mother […] I mean Pau [her son] does everything that a women does taking on responsibility of the house, of raising the children, yes it shows it has to show in a feminist mother's children, no? (Rosa, 75, 30/10/15).

By consciously raising her children from a feminist perspective, Rosa was able to challenge the traditional patriarchal norms of the domestic space (Green, 2004).

However, the experience of some of the younger generation of women I interviewed did not always match the older women's perceptions of favourable changes in the distribution of labour in the home. Whilst a number of women commented that their partners were happy to cook some days, routine domestic chores, such as laundry and cleaning in the main continue to be governed by strong gender norms. Thirty year old Bibiana admits that *'compaginar la vida laboral con con la vida familiar es es muy jodido'* (balancing work with family is bloody hard).

The young women from one of the focus groups discussed the role their fathers play in the home:

> *Estel: sí, el meu pare si, el meu pare és qui va a fer la compra de la setmana, qui fa el sopar qui (xxx) també, el meu pare sí vull dir a vegades neteja la casa i tot però també potser perquè la meva mare*

no està a casa mai la meva mare s'en va a les 8 del matí i no torna fins a les 9 de la nit i llavors no hi ha altre

Alba: a casa meva igual eh el meu pare col·labora molt però sí que si la meva mare no està la meva mare és com la seva vale s'en va al matí i no torna fins a la nit i el meu pare doncs està més hores a casa diguéssim pot fer la compra i tal però jo crec que si la meva mare no està enrere en plan s'ha de compar això i això la iniciativa no és la mateixa saps! ((risa)) no, no és la mateixa

Paula: sí el cap de setmana el meu pare sí que fa coses de manteniment de la casa les fa ell (1/11/15).

Estel: yes my father yes my father does the weekly shopping he makes dinner (xxx) as well, I mean my father sometimes even cleans the house and everything but that might be because my mother is never at home, she leaves at 8 am and doesn't get back until 9 at night so there's no option

Alba: it's the same in my house eh my father collaborates a lot but if my mother isn't there my mother is like hers she leaves in the morning and doesn't come back until the night and my father well he's at home more hours he does the shopping but I think that if my mother wasn't behind him in the sense that we need this this and this the initiative isn't the same you know! ((laughs)) it's not the same

Paula : yes my father does things at the weekend he does the maintenance of the house (1/11/15).

It is interesting that these young women's vocabulary has changed little from the older women, and underlines the value of the study's transgenerational dimension. The women are in their early 20s and all still live at home. Alba uses the term 'collaborate' in the same way as some of the older women and also asserts that despite her father's 'help', it is her mother who orchestrates everything. Although this is said in humour, the suggestion that men are incapable of running the home only perpetuates the myth that it is the woman who 'naturally' takes on this role. In Estel's house, her father does all of the cooking and shopping, although she says 'this may be because my mother isn't at home' intimating that perhaps the situation would be different if her mother was around more. Estel's comment 'he even cleans the house

sometimes' suggests certain domestic chores, such as cleaning and laundry, are a woman's responsibility. Similarly, Paula's account of her father's contribution to the household tasks is also gendered; her father looks after the 'maintenance of the house'. My findings show that dominant discourse on the gendered division of domestic labour imbues these young women's narratives.

In the final section of this chapter, I explore women's participation in politics which foregrounds the analysis of the campaign video *Votaré per tu.* I conclude with a discussion of the implications of its gendered dimension.

7.10.5 Women and the political arena

As I explained at the beginning of the chapter, a dynamic women's movement emerged in Catalonia during the transition and post-transition periods. Given the time period I was researching, I would have expected to find that some of the older women had been involved in the women's movements that were prominent at that time (Nash, 2007; Parramon, 2008). However, I was surprised to find that very few were involved in any type of movement. This may be due to living in a village like El Masnou in contrast to the larger towns and main Catalan cities where most of the demonstrations were carried out. However, another factor could be the women's life stage; there seemed to be little time to combine motherhood and activism, as one women commented: *'jo ja tenia el cap en altres puestos'* (by then my head was in other places). Similarly, Agnès explained her situation:

> *ya casarse y el tener hijos ya fue ya lo sabes tú es una época en que la mujer deja deja de ser mujer deja de ser persona deja de ser todo ((risa)) y no eres nada. Eres tu marido tu hijo er mi trabajo er no tenía*

tiempo ni de leer. Fue de los 70 tantos a los 80 hasta que mis hijos tuvieron unos 8 o 9 años es como un impasse, lo único que recuerdo es mis hijos y yo y yo y mis hijos ((risa)) […] Tenía el periódico seguía leyendo el periódico seguía estando al tanto de las cosas pero no me involucraba en nada en nada y yo pienso que la mayoría de las mujeres en esta época las que tenían, porque esta amiga que se metió en eso era soltera y entonces esta si podía hacer cosas pero las que estábamos casadas y con hijos y sobre todo trabajando.

getting married and having children was a time that a women stops being a women, stops being a person, stops everything ((laughs)) and you're nothing. You are your husband your child er my work er I didn't even have time to read. From the early 70s until the 80s when my children were 8 or 9 it was like an impasse the only thing I remember was my sons and me, me and my sons […] I did still read the newspaper I kept up to date with things but I didn't get involved in anything nothing and I think that the majority of women at that time those that had- because this friend that was involved in all that, she was single and so she was able to do things but those of us who were married with children and working as well (Agnès, 69, 27/4/15).

However, among the women I interviewed there were some who negotiated the conflicts of motherhood and political militancy. Carme worked for a bank in Barcelona and her working hours enabled her to dedicate the afternoons to what she considered to be her important work. She was a representative for the trade union *Comisions Obrers* (Workers' Commissions), which began as a clandestine union whilst Franco was still alive (CCOO, n.d), and she later joined the Ecosocialist party, *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds*[81] (ICV - Initiative for Catalonia Greens):

he estat treballant sin gustarme y además yo creo siendo una nulidad. A mí la banca no no me ha gustado porque a ver como quien dice no és que miren malament amb els treballadors de banca però- jo ho fet per una cosa còmoda jo feia política, treballava de 8 a 3 i a les 3 de la tarde tenia la tarda lliure [...] no m'agradava treballar mai a la banca.

I worked but I didn't enjoy it and also I think I was a waste of space. I didn't like the bank because I mean as they say it's not that they think badly of people who work for banks but- I did it because it was convenient I was politically active I worked from 8 till 3 and at 3 o'clock

[81] ICV define their ideologies as 'democràtica, catalanista, republicana, d'esquerres, ecologista, feminista, municipalista' (democratic, Catalanist, republican, left-wing, ecologist, feminist, of the municipal) (Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds, n.d).

> I had the afternoon free [...] I never liked working in the bank (Carme, 70, 9/10/15).

Carme recounted her experiences when she combined her maternal identity with her political identity:

> *vam anar també -tenia un nano i estava embarassada de l'altre- amb una manifestació perquè havia una fàbrica Aslan que feia ciment i treia fums i les dones quan es tendien la roba es quedava tota bruta del ciment a través de la organització de barri i gent de moviment obrer de la fàbrica i tal es va fer una manifestació en un diumenge al matí i bueno va venir la Guàrdia Civil va repartir canya i jo estava ja de 8 mesos saps al lo que es peguen. Jo pensava que no li passi res perquè la por que tenia després fins que no vaig tenir el nano i la pregunta aquella de sempre de dir "que esta bé? que li falta algo? és normal?" perquè bueno la repressió va ser dura i érem un moviment molt de manifestació.*
>
> we went to another demonstration- I had a kid and I was pregnant with the other- there was a cement factory that gave out a lot of smoke and the women's washing that was hanging out got dirty so through the neighbourhood organisation and the factory workers' movement they organised a demonstration one Sunday morning and the Guardia Civil came they started laying into us and I was 8 months gone, you know they hit you. I thought I hope he's ok the fear I felt afterwards until I had him, and the question you always ask "is he ok? Is anything missing? Is he normal?" but the repression was very strong and we were a movement that participated in lots of demonstrations (Carme, 70, 9/10/15).

She also recalled a pro-abortion demonstration that she went to with both her children:

> *jo me'n recordo anant amb els dos nanos petits a la manifestació que van repartir caldo que després estàvem aquí en El Masnou i i si veien algú amb gorra o per Barcelona de gris o de Guàrdia Civil doncs se t'arrimaven a tu perquè va haver-hi acabes en una manifestació pacífica i vas amb els crios petits perquè penses -entonces te pagaven- que no que no s'atreviran.*
>
> I remember going with my small boys to the demonstration and they laid into us later when we were here in Masnou if we saw anyone with a hat or in Barcelona dressed in grey[82] or the Civil Guard then they came up close to you because – you were in a peaceful

[82] *'Los Grises'* (The Grey Ones) was the common term for the Francoist armed police force, named after their grey uniforms. They were notorious for their heavy-handing control at demonstrations (Delgado, 2005).

> demonstration and you're with your little kids because you think-they would hit you at that time-you think that they wouldn't dare (Carme, 70, 9/10/15).

There is a tension in Carme's narrative between her role as a political activist and her role as a mother. As a mother, she is responsible for the protection of her unborn baby and her actions contradict the dominant discourses of 'good' mothering; she is fearful her participation may have harmed the baby. However, her use of 'but' suggests as an activist she felt compelled to participate and had a responsibility to the movement. Her activist side conflicts with her maternal side. Moreover, in order to prioritise and fulfil her commitment to her political beliefs, she was willing to work in a patriarchal capitalist establishment that she hated. Carme's narrative also highlights the fluidity of identity; she discursively constructs a number of different identites: mother, activist, Catalanist,[83] feminist. Her political militancy with ICV also challenges the notion that Catalanism goes hand in hand with secessionism; ICV have a Catalanist but not a separatist ideology. As shown in the earlier sections, many of the women who describe themselves as Catalanists are also strongly in favour of an independent Catalonia, Carme however made it clear in our interview that she was not a separatist. As I have noted in other chapters, this shows that a Catalan identity does not necessarily imply a separatist ideology.

[83] A *Catalanist* is a person who supports the movement for Catalan autonomy, although not necessarily the sovereign movement.

From a different generation, born in 1965, Roser began her political activity at university and went on to join ERC. She explained the disadvantages she has encountered as a mother in politics:

> *estàs en un partit com Esquerra Republicana jo no dic que posen ningú impediment però hi ha un tema i jo he sigut presidenta de secció local i tot eh però sí que és veritat que quan et mous en un món en què o en un àmbit en què predominen els homes tot és dif- és diferent en el sentit de què er tu portes moltes coses al cap i portes coses endavant i llavors clar els teus prioritats són unes altres i tu pots organitzar reunions amb una finalitat concreta i els organitzes i dius pues li esperem de tal a tal perquè vas a despatxar i punt, [...] doncs que et trobaves amb amb homes que bueno bàsicament, parlaven o sigui en un context de què no tenien cap pressa d'arribar a casa a la nit i el meu cas era diferent perquè sempre hi havia el nen, o estàs pensant que has de fer alguna cosa en aquest cas sí i clar er en segons quines ocasions és mes fàcil per un home estar disponible que per una dona.*
>
> you're in a party like *Esquerra Republicana* I'm not saying they put any obstacles but there's this issue and I have been president of the local branch and all that eh but it's true that when you move in a world or a sphere where men dominate everything is different in the sense that you have many things in your head and of course your priorities are different and you organise meetings with a concrete purpose and you agree a time because you want to take care of business and that's it […] and you'd find yourself with with men who well basically chatted I mean in a manner of not being concerned with getting home at night and my situation was different because there was always the kid or you're thinking you need to do something. Some situations like this it's easier for a man to be more free than a woman (Roser, 50, 14/10/15).

Roser's comment about a party 'like ERC' suggests she would have perhaps expected the structure within the party to be more empathetic towards women. Her expectations of ERC could stem from the image that the party portrays as a pro-independent, modern and progressive party in contrast to the patriarchal stance of the right-wing Spanish parties. Her familial role and her position in the party were often incompatible and she found the male dominated political environment did not adapt. Roser's work in the public sphere is conditioned by her identity as a mother. Like many of the previous comments, the public/male

private/female binary still persists and despite negotiating between the two, the private sphere continues to be a space gendered feminine. Roser works as a civil servant in a predominantly all-female department that she admits *'ens aseguren un sou […] i un temps o les facilitats per dedicar-te els fills'* (it guarantees us a salary […] and time or the ability to dedicate to our children). Other women talk about women's involvement in politics and argue that many women sacrifice a political career in order to bring up their children, as the following example demonstrates:

> *moltes eh vull dir – quan s'han incorporat a una tasca política o etc pues molt sovint ho han fet a una edat més gran que els homes amb el qual també això resta possibilitats. Hi ha dones dins dels partits que és molt clar que s'han incorporat a la vida política quan els fills ja són grans i per tant això vol dir que arribes a la cursa amb desavantatge!*
>
> many [women] when they go into politics very often they do it at an older age than men so that also removes opportunities. There are women in the parties that it's clear that they have got into political life when their children have grown up and therefore that means that you start the race with a disadvantage! (Dolors, 60, 21/5/15).

In these women's narratives it can be seen how institutional and societal structures continue to be sexist and often limit women's participation in the labour market or in the political sphere, at least as far as achieving certain positions are concerned. When the women spoke about women's roles in the future, the issue of maternity and the gendered expectations of women as carers and nurturers and men as the main providers came across strongly in the older women's narratives. They considered this an obstacle for women to reach executive positions within companies or to become more visible politically. One woman told me*: 'en los puestos de más poder todavía siguen siendo de hombres, pero yo pienso que un poco el hándicap es esto que los empresarios temen que "a ver si se va la pongo en este puesto y se va a*

quedar embarazada"' (men continue being in the positions of more power but I think the handicap is that these business men worry that "if I put her in this position and she gets pregnant and leaves"). Interestingly, although there was a general agreement among the younger women that a woman no longer *'depenia de la figura masculina totalment'* (totally depended on the masculine figure), borrowing from their personal experiences at home, there was a suggestion that women had not progressed as much as they would like:

> *i quan et poses a pensar i tampoc no ha canviat tant eh perquè a veure depèn de la família no però normalment no és el pare que diu bueno va a casa a fer el dinar no és mes la dona o els fills a la dutxa els deures i tal sí que ara està molt més igualat eh però encara hi ha una mica la manera de fer també es així.*
>
> when you start to think about it things haven't changed that much eh because let's see it depends on the family but normally it's not the father who goes home to make lunch, it's usually the woman and it's more usual for the woman to shower the kids help with homework and all that, yes there is more equality no but still there's a bit of doing things like before (Paula, 22, 1/11/15).

And, like the older women, they considered maternity to be one of the obstacles to changing this situation and that women often *'ha de triar entre evolucionar a nivell laboral o familiar'* (have to chose between evolving at a professional or family level), a problem according to Estel, that men do not have. Two of them commented:

> *Gemma: jo crec que també potser una mica el tema és el embaràs en quant el poder compaginar-ho amb el treball crec que una limitació per les dones això i amb un futur sí que haurà més bueno més ajudes per les dones.*
>
> *Estel: sí clar això és veritat en la feina passa de vegades hi ha empreses que prioritzen abans un home si la dona està en els 30 algo agafaren primer un home que no una dona que potser té més capacitat però clar es pot quedar embarassada i la tinc mesos sense treballar.*

> Gemma: I think that also it's about pregnancy in the sense of being able to balance it with work I think it's a limitation for women and there should be more help for women in the future.
>
> Estel: yes, of course, that's true, at work it can happen that sometimes there are companies that will give priority to a man if the woman is around 30, they'll give the job to the man first even though the woman may be more able but she could get pregnant and be a few months off work (1/11/15).

As previously mentioned, nearly all the women I interviewed have worked outside the home as, among other things, business women, teachers, cleaners, entrepreneurs and tailors. We can also read in the women's narratives how their identities as women and mothers are socially and culturally shaped (Miller, 2005). Notwithstanding the generational differences there is very little divergence in the women's experiences and perspectives relating to the difficulties in reconciling work and family life, maternity or access to male-dominated sectors of society. Twenty-three year old Gemma argued that *'la dona a l'hora de fer-se veure ha de defensar els seus drets, i no deixar-se tampoc dominar'* (for a woman to make herself seen she has to defend her rights and not allow herself to be dominated). Gemma's choice of phrase 'make herself seen' suggests women have a certain level of invisibility in the public space. Roser echoed these sentiments, putting the onus on women to evoke change:

> *bueno el futur serà el que ens fem eh nosaltres er nosaltres hem de portar la nostra visió i la nostra manera de veure el món i això només podem fer nosaltres, no? No ens vindrà a ajudar ningú com a país ni com a res i com a dones està en les nostres mans de certa manera er hem de lluitar i hem de seguir hem de seguir fent perque les lleis siguen les mateixes per tothom perquè tothom tingui les mateixes oportunitats nens i nenes.*
>
> well, the future will be what we make it eh we (as women) have to take our vision and are way of seeing the world and only we can do this, no? No one will help us as a country or as women it is in our

> hands we have to fight we have to carry on doing this so that the laws are the same for everyone so that everyone has the same opportunities, boys and girls (Roser, 50, 14/10/15).

She concluded: *'el que passa és clar el que et deia, no? Que mires una mica la foto dels polítics veus que tot acaben protagonitzant els homes'* (what happens is, of course, what I said before, when you look a little at the photograph of politicians, you see that it is always the men who are the protagonists). This last extract leads us to the final part of the chapter where I will explore women's online visibility in the Catalan national narrative.

7.10.6 Votaré per tu video: culturally and politically invisible women

Figure 15: Screen shot from Votaré per tu video

This section will discuss the *Votaré per tu* video and compare it with the women's narratives. As already mentioned, the campaign video shows 17 prominent people from Catalan society each dedicating their vote to a deceased Catalan figure. At the end of the video, the viewer is left with the image of a mother holding her baby in her arms and dedicating her vote to the baby (Figure 15); a final representation of women as the nation's biological producers.

Figure 16: Muriel Casals (Òmnium) & Carmen Forcadell (ANC)

Out of the 17 personalities in the video, five are women, of which two are the campaign's leaders (Figure 16) and only one woman from Catalan history has a vote dedicated to her (the writer Mercè Roderer). Therefore, despite the great number of important female figures in Catalan culture, their absence in this video appears to render Catalan women culturally and politically invisible. The video suggests that women are not part of the nation's collective memory and this can also be seen by the absence of contesting discourse. Out of a total number of 6,846 tweets and 672 Facebook comments, there are 21 posts (20 tweets and one Facebook comment) that make reference to the lack of women in the video, 16 of these are posted by women and five by men. Examples include the following three:

19. *Jo votaré per totes les dones que un cop més són invisibles 18h/2dones.*[84] *Hi ha segona part del vídeo?*

    I will vote for all the women who, once more, are invisible. 18 men/2 women. Is there a second part to the video?

20. *El 9N, segons el vídeo, CAP home votarà x una dona. Només les dones voten x dones. Queda molt per fer #VotaréPerTu.*

    On 9N, according to the video, NO man will vote for a women. Only the women vote for women. There is still much to do #IWillVoteForYou.

[84] In the tweets and comments there are some discrepancies regarding the number of men and women that appear in the video. The correct number is 17 men and six women, which includes the image of the woman with the baby at the end.

21. *Només surt una dona front 17 homes als cartells...casualitat o patriarcat? La nostra història esta plena de dones lluitadores, creadores i/o artistes!*

    Only one woman appears next to 17 men in the photos…coincidence or patriarchal? Our history is full of courageous, inventive and artistic women!

Saunders (2011: 6) argues that 'the impact of internet use' is not neutral, and politicians and the elite will create an 'artificial solidarity' to further their political causes and create social and cultural cohesion. This can be seen in the production of the video. By using cultural figures who allegedly defended an independent Catalonia, including Catalans who died for their beliefs, the video strongly appeals to people's emotional attachment to the nation and rekindles memories of repression, war and injustice. This essential viewpoint of the video seems to be directed at the native Catalan who can relate to the history and myths it portrays. Moreover, its focus is on the mainstream conception of the Catalan population, being white, native and Christian (or secular) as described in chapter six, thus excluding any migrant population.

The lack of reference to women in the video and the scant protest to their absence in the data is surprising. Firstly, because up until May 2015, the leaders of the two civil organisations that produced the video were women. Secondly, for a long time throughout the Franco regime, Catalan women were doubly repressed: as Catalans their culture and language were proscribed and as women their rights to, among other things, divorce, abortion and contraception were revoked. Given this history, it would be reasonable to expect a counter-discourse protesting women's absence, however, the findings demonstrate a lack of protest in the online discourse.

7.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed and compared the women's narratives with social media data from Twitter and Facebook in order to explore women's place in the Catalan nation both at the local level in the village and at the wider level in Catalan society. I have shown similarities in the discursive construction of national identity and the stances seen in both datasets with common themes of repression, national sentiment and culture running through the data. Further, the social media data have revealed how multimodal stance taking is made possible through images and photographs.

Nationalism and national projects are often depicted as masculine phenomena and the video and the Twitter and Facebook corpora suggest that the Catalan national project is no different; political regimes may change, but the patriarchal system continues. The euphoria and passion of Catalan nation building appear to transcend everything else and the *'fet diferencial'*[85] (differential fact) that reflects Catalans' uniqueness does not extend to representations of gender. This can be compared with the women's narratives. In the interviews, the women explain their difficulty in reconciling work and family life. Of particular relevance to the video are those women's narratives relating to their political engagement. As Roser said '*mires una mica la foto dels polítics veus que tot acaben protagonitzant els homes'* (look a little at the photograph of politicians, you see that it is always the men who are the protagonists).

[85] As introduced in chapter one, the so-called '*fet diferencial*' or differential fact relates to specific traits considered unique to Catalan society and notably different from those of the rest of the country (Ucelay da Cal, 2013).

This chapter has shown that there is a mix of continuity and change in the gender relations and gender roles in post-Franco Catalonia. Whilst the women accept there is a shift in traditional gendered roles, at the same time, they still take on the primary role of carer, nurturer and homemaker and there is an exaggerated emphasis on motherhood. This compares with how they are portrayed in the social media data.

In the referendum campaign video, women remain hidden or silent as they did during the Franco regime. In the interviews, the women themselves discuss the need for more women in positions of power and recount how they struggle to find visibility in the public sphere. This Catalan narrative renders women invisible in the national project as demonstrated in the video and the findings of the social media data. It could be argued however that this masculine nationalism has become so banal that is has now become commonplace to project a nationalist project in this way. Therefore, rather than masculine, this is a *naturalised* nationalism with a particular type of male at the forefront. The nationalist discourse reproduces traditional binary gender identities where women continue to carry the 'burden of representation' (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 45) as cultural and biological continuity is placed on them as mothers of the nation.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this research has been to gain an understanding of women's attitudes towards the Catalan language and how they use the language in their everyday social practices to construct gendered and national identities. It has explored three 'generations' of women and shown how their perspectives are shaped by wider historical, social, cultural and ideological processes. An intersectional approach has emphasised gender's inter-connectedness with categories of age, class and ethnicity. With this approach, the thesis has aimed to capture the complexity and the interrelatedness of language, identity, migration and Catalan nation building. In order to organise these diverse themes, a spatial framework was developed to bring together physical, temporal and ideological space, the three principal and interconnected spaces identified in the data.

In this concluding chapter I will firstly summarise the key findings, consider the limitations of the study and suggest directions for future research. Secondly, I will discuss the study's contribution to knowledge and the implications for research which include methodological and social policy considerations. This interdisciplinary study contributes to the fields of Catalan studies, oral history and sociocultural linguistics. As I discuss below, a new analytical approach incorporating discourse analysis and small story research with oral history narratives, together with a focus on three 'generations' of women through an

intersectional lens, adds a unique dimension to the scholarship on oral history. Further, a focus on the local with the choice of a Catalan village outside the urban area of Barcelona expands the current literature on language attitudes and migration in Catalonia.

8.1 Summary of key findings

The first section of this chapter will draw out and summarise the key findings of the study. The study reveals contradictions to the traditional narratives of repression in Catalonia during the Franco regime as well as linguistic strategies of resistance and 'othering' employed by some Catalan women to challenge the alleged provocation from the Spanish central government. The findings also highlight a mismatch between official integration policy and the women's everyday practices and understanding of what integration actually means. In this way, the findings provide insights into the complex issues of inclusion and exclusion of migrants in Catalonia today. The research has uncovered discourses of Catalan ethnolinguistic identity and how this is contested by migrant women's construction of transnational and hybrid identities. Finally, the study reveals a mix of continuity and change in gender roles but also demonstrates the continued reproduction of binary gender identities in the Catalan nation building process. These findings will be described in more detail below.

Although I break down the findings into four sections, as I have shown throughout the thesis, the salient themes that I have identified during my analysis are all interconnected in a number of ways. Language authenticity

cannot be detached from the historic repression experienced by the Catalans, nor from the present-day context of state and regional government tensions or the impact of migration. All these elements are strongly related to the notion of nation and identity. Likewise, women's place in the nation today is shaped by the years of repression and the traditional gendered national narrative and nationalist ideology. These themes are all interwoven and interrelated and reveal the complexities of 21st century Catalan society and show that these cannot be reduced to a single issue about language without taking into consideration the many other factors that shape it.

8.2 Challenging repression past and present

Undisputedly, the linguistic and cultural repression imposed by the Franco regime strongly made its mark in Catalonia up to and beyond the dictator's death in 1975. Nonetheless, as I have shown in chapter four, the women's histories reveal contradictions to the traditional narrative of repression of the Catalan language and culture. My findings show that certain physical spaces became ideological spaces where resistance to the regime took place. The Catalan language was not only confined to the private sphere of the home; in public, be it on the street, in schools or other local entities, the women and their families resisted the prohibition of the language and culture. The gendered role of women as the ideological producers of the nation (Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989) was also challenged during the regime as some women recounted the significant roles their father's played in the transmission of the Catalan language, culture and political ideology in the home.

My findings also reveal a discourse of continued repression and provocation from the Spanish central government in the early 21st century where language plays a central role in the nationalistic tensions between Spain and Catalonia. There is evidence that some of the Catalan women have stopped the practice of the 'accommodation norm' (Woolard, 1989), whereby Catalans switch language to 'accommodate' Castilian speakers. This practice of not switching languages could be interpreted as a strategy to make a stand against the alleged continued provocation from the Spanish government. However, it could also be interpreted as another form of 'othering'. Although linguistic immersion initiatives have encouraged addressing migrants in Catalan in order to facilitate learning the language, this shift of attitude could also be interpreted as way of establishing a 'we' group that can only be accessed by native Catalan speakers.

8.3 *Pais d'acollida*: naturalised othering or welcoming discourse?

Migration has formed an important part of Catalan history and the notion of Catalonia as a *pais d'acollida* (welcoming country) is embedded in Catalan society. As discussed in chapter five, the large-scale migratory movements of the late 20th and early 21st centuries have propelled the Catalan government to develop new models of integration and diversity management. Integration policies focus on the development of an intercultural society, with the Catalan language as the principal tool for social cohesion. However my findings show a mismatch between these policies and everyday practices; the women's attitudes towards and understanding of an integrated society do not always converge with government policies. The study shows that a simple bifurcation

of native versus migrant hides the nuances of the discourses of integration. Differentiation between migrant groups based on efforts to learn the language or cultural affinity divides groups into 'good' and 'bad' migrants. This hierarchy of othering positions the Catalan women as the hegemonic group and could be perceived as an everyday 'naturalised othering' that challenges the image of Catalonia as a welcoming country. The complex discourses of integration raise the question about what integration means and whether interculturalism is achievable in a space where one culture – in this case the Catalan culture – is the dominant one and immigrant discourse appears to be almost naturalised. Ignorance and fear of the other were concerns voiced by both native and migrant women and the notion that integration should mean more of a cooperation between groups may be an interesting alternative to the 'one-way street' described by some women where the onus is on the migrant to accommodate to the dominant culture.

8.4 Authentic Catalan versus transnational and hybrid

Recent research by Woolard (2016: 6) concludes that there is a shift in language attitudes from an ethnolinguistic identity to a more civic approach to the language that broadens the 'possibilities of Catalan identification to the wider population'. Some of my findings contradict this claim, as I discussed in chapter six. The ideology of linguistic authority based on ancestry and who can claim a Catalan identity persists in some of the Catalan women's narratives. These notions of nativism and an essentialist understanding of language as an identity marker are shaped by historic and socio-cultural contexts. I suggest the concept of authenticity and the strengthening of

ideological borders could be perceived as a reaction not only to Spanish/Catalan government tensions but also to the transnationalisation of the Catalan national space (Balibar, 2004; Zappettini, 2016). However, the data also reveal diverse discursive constructions of national and transnational identities that are fluid and context bound. My findings show that migrant women challenge the ideology of authenticity through the construction of multiple, transnational and hybrid cultural identities and attempt to deconstruct the notion that 'being Catalan' is a homogenous or fixed category. Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the migrant women come across constantly shifting barriers. Depending on the context, they are judged on their linguistic competence, cultural affinity or political ideology, making it difficult for the migrant women to integrate or be viewed or accepted as anything other than immigrants.

8.5 Gendered roles and naturalised nationalism

During the transition to democracy, a dynamic women's movement emerged that saw the construction of new female identities and roles beyond the traditional nationalist definitions of women as mothers of the nation. In chapter seven I explored women's place in the Catalan nation and found that the women's narratives demonstrated a mix of continuity and change in gender roles and relations in post-Franco Catalonia. Whilst there are some apparent changes in traditional gender roles, my findings show a struggle for the women to reconcile work and family life and discard their role as primary homemaker and carer. And in this respect my findings showed little generational difference; the younger women's narratives were also imbued with the dominant

discourses of gendered division of labour. This traditional image is strongly reinforced in the social media data where women continue to be portrayed as the reproducers of the nation.

Some women in my study questioned the level of visibility women have in male-dominated sectors of society or the political arena. Despite having women at the forefront of the sovereignty grassroots movement, the Catalan nationalist discourse reproduces binary gender identities that render women invisible and exclude the migrant voice altogether. I argue that, despite claims of the uniqueness of Catalonia, its people and its progressive society, Catalan nation building echoes other nationalist projects based on a masculine nationalism. The surprising lack of counter discourse found in the social media data would suggest that it is so commonplace to construct a national project in this way that this has become a naturalised nationalism.

8.6 Limitations and future research

As in all research projects, this study has some limitations. The sample size of the study and its focus on one village limits generalisation of my findings and is not intended to be representative of women living in different parts of Catalonia. I attempted to interview a diverse sample of women from El Masnou however the selection was limited to women who were willing to take part in the study. In this respect, the study lacks representation from West African and Asian women. Likewise, the social media data sample focuses on one particular event and was limited to publicly accessible tweets and Facebook comments and does not claim to be representative of the larger Catalan

population. The potential younger demographic of social media users is also a limitation to the generalisability of the findings.

These limitations however can open avenues for future research. As I have argued, perspectives and attitudes can vary greatly depending on location. Thus, the present study could be extended to include towns in different areas of Catalonia with varying levels of migration and also include other ethnic groups. The theme of integration could be extended further through comparative generational studies in international migrant families of different origins. It would also be interesting to extend the age group to adolescents which would enable a comparative study of Woolard's (2016) research in other parts of Catalonia. The social media corpus could be built on by including data from additional media sources such as newspaper comments or by examining social media data from other significant events initiated by the pro-independence movements.

8.7 Contribution to knowledge

This study makes a contribution to methodology as well as uncovering the differing and complex discourses of cultural awareness at a local level. These discourses have social policy implications.

As discussed in chapter one, there is a growing body of oral history studies of women carried out in Spain (e.g. Cuevas, 1998; Hamilton, 2007; Hernández Holgado, 2005; Pujadas et al., 2012; Romeu Alfaro, 1994) and my study adds to this scholarship. However, many of these studies are centred on women's

experiences during the civil war and imprisonment in the Francoist prison system in the early years of the regime. This thesis adds a new dimension to the current oral history literature. In the context of Catalonia and Spain, to my knowledge, there are currently no oral history studies that consider three 'generations' of women and examine the intersection of gender, age, ethnicity and class. The generational approach is also central to examining identities; as I have shown these are not fixed and multiple identities are constructed by the women over different periods of time. Moreover, my findings have highlighted the importance of adopting an intersectional approach to analysis to avoid reducing women to a homogenous group to help us understand how the intersection of these multiple identities shape each women's unique experiences.

The study has analysed diverse social and political contexts at a local level and it is only through an exploration across three generations that changes or continuities can be traced. This approach has enabled an understanding of the resilience of discourse and how it is tied to hegemonic ideologies of nation building and gendered relations.

The interdisciplinary nature of this study integrates the fields of sociocultural linguistics and oral history and contributes to the small body of work that brings together discourse analysis and oral history (Clary-Lemon, 2010; Schiffrin, 2003). This approach allows for a richer understanding of the data and provides a tool to explore the dialectical relationship between discourses and social practices. In other words, it enables us to explore how discourses are

shaped by broader social and cultural ideals and how these discourses impact social reality (Wodak et al., 2009). Furthermore, this thesis adds a new methodological approach by combining oral history narratives with social media analysis and the small story framework. This interdisciplinary approach has enabled me to examine women's narratives at a local village level and compare these with social media data at a wider societal level. The social media data do not appear in a vacuum; as well as a present-day context for the tweets and comments, there is also a historical context thus small story research provides an appropriate analytical link between the two datasets. A final contribution of this study is the three-part spatial framework that I have used to organise the broad themes identified in the data which brings together ideologies of language and nation and their relation with socially constructed notions of space. This framework adds a further distinct dimension to the analysis of oral history and social media data.

Interest in Catalonia and its language has increased greatly over the last two decades and many studies have been conducted in relation to language and identity, education, second language learning, language policies and integration (e.g. Corona, 2013; Frekko, 2009; Pujolar & Gónzalez, 2013; Woolard, 1989, 2016). However, the majority of empirical research has been carried out, with a few exceptions (e.g. Pujolar, 2007), in Barcelona city or outlying larger towns. Similarly, whilst there are a number of recent studies on migrant integration in Catalonia (e.g. Parella, 2003; Rivera Farfán, 2016; Zontini, 2004, 2010), they have also been principally carried out within the urban areas of Barcelona. As I have argued, and as my findings demonstrate,

the focus on one village outside the capital city can offer different perspectives. This thesis therefore extends these geographical boundaries and has uncovered contrasting insights and discourses to other research carried out in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. Although El Masnou cannot be considered a rural location, the urban/rural split can be applied to my findings and contributes to the recent attention in sociolinguistics to the urban/rural divide (Britain, 2016; Evans, 2016; May, 2014).

My findings demonstrate that the women of El Masnou are not a homogenous group and their perspectives do not always converge with Catalan government policy, political rhetoric or the national ideology. The findings reveal the existence of some strong attitudes of nativism, authenticity and the need to protect the Catalan language and culture from outside interference, stemming from four decades of repression. However, these ideologies are difficult to reconcile with official discourses of interculturalism and policy makers' objectives will have little value if their vision is not shared by the population. The findings highlight the difficulties the migrant women experience in integrating and these difficulties are frequently associated with the manifestations of nativism and linguistic authority. Language is of fundamental importance but it is not the only issue. Cultural differences, such as religious beliefs and values, also feature strongly in the women's discourses surrounding social cohesion as well as fear and ignorance of the other. The creation of space for dialogue may be a path towards an increased understanding of cultural pluralism at a local level.

The findings of this study have provided insights into some of the issues of inclusion and exclusion that are often ignored by policy makers or absent in political and nationalist discourse. The Catalan government has appointed a number of women in key positions in parliament however the women's discourse and the social media data reflect a different understanding of women's position in the public sphere. This position and interventions on linguistic immersion and integration of migrants should consider the local level concerns raised here by both natives and migrants alike. Being unaware of these issues, or by failing to acknowledge them, can mean that language, gender or migrant integration policies will not serve best the people they are intended for, nor the Catalan community as a whole.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interviews and Focus Groups - Participant Profile

Number	Pseudonym	Age	Interview date	Origin
1	Agnès	69	27/04/15	Catalan
2	Clara	74	28/04/15	Catalan
3	Elisenda	79	28/04/15	Catalan
4	Cristina	65	06/05/15	Catalan
5	Maite	56	08/05/15	Catalan
6	Sara	49	09/05/15	Catalan/Spanish
7	Marta	51	10/05/15	Catalan
8	Adelina	59	12/05/15	Spanish
9	Marisol	51	13/05/15	Spanish
10	Lourdes	61	15/05/15	Catalan
11	Ana	30	15/05/15	Spanish
12	Laia	48	16/05/15	Catalan
13	Mercè	61	19/05/15	Catalan
14	Remei	75	20/05/15	Catalan
15	Dolors	60	21/05/15	Catalan
16	Montse	50	06/10/15	Catalan
17	Carme	70	09/10/15	Catalan
18	Lídia	67	09/10/15	Catalan
19	Beatriz	48	14/10/15	Catalan
20	Roser	50	14/10/15	Catalan
21	Luisa	53	15/10/15	Spanish
22	Matilde	63	15/10/15	Spanish
23	Renata	59	19/10/15	Argentinean
24	Gabriela	31	19/10/15	Colombian
25	Claudia	27	20/10/15	Spanish
26	Diana	59	20/10/15	Catalan
27	Mónica	28	21/10/15	Spanish
28	Bibiana	31	21/10/15	Catalan/Spanish
29	Mireia	30	21/10/15	Catalan
30	Manuela	57	22/10/15	Spanish
31	Rocío	51	22/10/15	Spanish
32	Marina	30	23/10/15	Catalan
33	Yolanda	53	24/10/15	Mexican
34	Sílvia	67	26/10/15	Catalan
35	Alicia	63	27/10/15	Spanish
36	Rachida	34	28/10/15	Moroccan
37	Malika	28	28/10/15	Moroccan
38	Laila	34	28/10/15	Moroccan
39	Antonia	65	30/10/15	Spanish (FG)
40	Teresa	68	30/10/15	Spanish (FG)
41	Isabella	66	30/10/15	Argentinean (FG)
42	Rosa	75	30/10/15	Catalan (FG)
43	Belén	42	30/10/15	Spanish
44	Estel	23	01/11/15	Catalan (FG)
45	Paula	22	01/11/15	Catalan (FG)
46	Alba	23	01/11/15	Catalan (FG)
47	Gemma	23	01/11/15	Catalan (FG)
48	Josepa	79	02/11/15	Catalan
49	Lídia	67	26/01/16	Catalan (2nd interview)

FG = Focus Group

Age group	No. of participants	Origin	No. of participants
22-34 years	14	Catalan	26
35-59 years	16	Spanish	15
60-80 years	18	South American	4
		Moroccan	3

Appendix II. Topic guides

Topic guide Catalan natives

Infantessa prompts
On i quan vas/vau néixer?
Has/heu viscut al poble tota la teva vida?
Qui vivia en casa?
Lloc de neixament dels teus pares?
De què treballava el teu pare / la teva mare?
En què idioma parlàveu a casa amb la familia / en el col·legi amb els amics / en la carrer?
Pensas/penseu que la teva mare tenia el treball de mantenir la llengua i cultura catalana en casa?
Qui ajudava en casa? Reparties els treballs de casa amb les teves germans?
Com era el teu col.legi / classes?
En quina llengua s'impartien les classes?
Què tipus d'activitats es feia al poble?

Adolescencia/estudis prompts
A quin edat vas/vau comencar a anar a l'escola
Quan va deixar d'anar a l'escola i per que?
Era un col·legi mixt?
Què assignatures et/us agradaven?
Havien diferències entre les assignatures per a nois i noies?
Què volies/volíeu ser, què somnis tenies per a el futur?
Vas/vau ser a la universitat o volies/volíeu anar i no podies/podeu?
Era normal en aquella època per a les dones anar a la Universitat?
Què recordas/recordeu amb mes afecta dels seus anys a l'escola?
Què/qui ere(n) les teves influències?
Què feies/fèieu en el teu temps lliure

Treball prompts
En què vas/vau treballar? Com era?
Era difícil trobar treball?
Hi havia discriminació contra les dones? Has/heu vist canvis en la posició de les dones des de llavors?
El 'doble treball': tenies/tenieu dificultats de conciliar el temps?

Transició prompts
Et recordes/us recordeu on estaves/estàveu quan es va signar la constitució del 79? Què pensavas/pensàveu?
I el estatut de autonomía?
Veies/vèieu canvis després favorables per les dones?
Estaves involucrada en algun moviment de dones dels anys setenta?
Com recordas/recordeu, a nivell personal, els temps de la transició?
Què esperances tenias/teníeu per el futur?
Han canviat els teus pensaments des de llavors?
Si les dones estaven reprimides, que esperaven després? Com podien actuar per defensar la seva identitat?

Present / futur prompts
Què penses/penseu del procés actual de independència?
Penses/penseu que Catalunya acabarà sent independent?
Quin paper hauria de tenir la dona en el futur en Cataluyna
Penses/penseu que mes dones han de tenir posicions de responsabilitat, de prendre decisions?
Com et defineixes/us definiu ara? la teva identitat? La teva classe social? Ha canviat durant els anys?

Què penses/penseu de les oportunitats que tenen les dones d'avui?
Què penses/penseu dels moviments socials d'ara?
Y l'us de les xarxes socials?

Gènere prompts
Veies/vèieu canvis després favorables per les dones?
Estaves/estaveu involucrada en algun moviment de dones dels anys setenta?
En la teva casa havies/havíeu que seguir la pàtria de potestat durante el franquismo?
Creïs/creeu que hi ha més oportunitats per a dones avui?
Són suficients? Hi ha igualtat?
Com ha/heu canviat el teu rol comparat amb la teva mare o àvia?

Llengua prompts
En quin idioma et sentis/us sentiu més còmode?
Què idioma parlas/parleu con més frecuencia
Què importància té la teva llengua para tu
Què importància té una llengua per a la cultura de un país?
La teva llengua et/us marca la teva identitat?

General prompts
Matrimoni / fills
Hauràs/haureu vist canvis en el poble? Coses bones? Coses no tan bones?
Com era el poble, la gent, ha canviat els actituds de la gent
Hi ha hagut algun esdeveniment destacat, alguna cosa important, en el poble?
Al meu país hi ha gent que diuen que hi ha massa immigració, com és aquí? Què penses/penseu tu?
Has/heu notat algun tipus de racisme cap als immigrants al poble?
S'integren amb la gent d'aquí?

Topic guide Migrant women.

Infancia/vida en país de origen
Tu vida antes de venir aquí / la teva vida abans de venir aquí
(niñez, escuela, de donde eres, trabajo, familia, profesión de tus padres)

Vida aquí
Por qué razones viniste a Cataluña? / per que vas venir a Catalunya
(era tu elección/tu familia, tenías alternativas?)
Cuanto tiempo llevas aquí / Quant temps portes aquí?
(en Cataluña, en El Masnou, por qué El Masnou?)
Con quien vives? / Amb qui vius?
Toda tu familia esta aquí? Vino alguien primero? / Tota la teva família esta aquí? Va venir algú primer?
Tenéis familia en otras partes del mundo? / Teniu família en altres parts del món?
Percibes diferencias aquí en términos de cultura/raza. Racismo? Has tenido algún motivo por sentirte discriminada por ser de otro origen étnico/ Perceps diferències aquí en termes de cultura/raça. Racisme? Has tingut algun motiu per sentir-te discriminada per ser d'un altre origen ètnic

Lengua/trabajo prompts
En qué idioma te sientes mas comoda? / En quin idioma et sentis/us sentiu més còmode?
Qué idioma hablas con mas frecuencia? / Què idioma parlas/parleu con més frecuencia
Hablas/entiendes Catalan?
Crees que es importante hablar catalan? / Creïs que és important parlar català?
(para el tema laboral, podrías acceder a mejores trabajos si hablaras Catalan? / per al tema laboral, per accedir a millors treballs?)
Crees que es necesario hablar Catalan para integrarse/trabajar?
Y para integrarse en la sociedad? I per integrar-se en la societat?
Qué ayudas hay en la comunidad para ayudarte a aprender?

(la gente te hablan en Catalan en las tiendas o en castellano?)
Porque aprendes Catalan? Vas a clases?
Con quien hablas en Catalan? / amb qui parlas en català?
(compañeros, vida social, compras / en el treball / socialment / de compres)
Que diarios lees? En Catalan? que diaris llegeixes? algun en català?
(medios/TV/radio/internet/tratamiento de inmigrantes en los diarios locales?)
Te quedarás a vivir aquí o te gustaría volver a tu país algún día? / Et quedaràs a viure aquí o t'agradaria tornar al teu país algun dia?

Trabajo prompts
Trabajas fuera de casa? (Cómo es visto por la comunidad marroquina/magrabí)
Necesitas permiso para trabajar? / Necessites permís per treballar?

Transnacional prompts
Mantienes relaciones con tu país? Como? / Mantienes relaciones con tu país? Cómo?
(vacaciones/visitas/envias dinero/cómo mantienes contacto, internet/redes sociales? / vacances/visites/envias diners/com mantens contacte, internet/xarxes socials?)
Comunidad (Latina, magrebí…) hay aquí? Organizáis cosas relacionado con (tu país)? / Comunidad (Latina, magrebí…) hay aquí?
Quienes son tus amigos aquí? / Qui són els teus amics aquí?
Tienes familia en otras partes del mundo? / Tens família en altres parts del món?
Traes cosas de tu país? / Portas coses del teu país?
(has adoptado algo de la cultura catalana / has adoptat algu de la cultura catalana)

Hijos prompts
Tienes hijos? Están aquí? Tens fills? Estàn aquí?
Van al cole aquí / van al col·legi?
(problemas de idioma, los deberes, cuidado de los niños si trabajas fuera de casa? / problemes de la llengua, els deures, cura dels nens si treballas fora de casa?)
Que son las experiencias de tus hijos en relación al cole/amigos/integración? / Que son las experiencias de tus hijos en relación al cole/amigos/integración?
Enseñas a tus hijos valores/cultura de tu país / Ensenyes als teus fills valoris/cultura del teu país
Tendrías hijos aquí, los criarías aquí? / Tindries fills aquí, els criaries aquí?
Tus hijos se consideran Catalán o de (tu país) / Els teus fills es consideren Català o de (el teu país)

Present / futur prompts
Qué piensas del proceso actual de idependencia? / Què penses/penseu del procés actual de independència?
Piensas que Catalunya acabar siendo independiente? / Penses/penseu que Catalunya acabarà sent independent?
Qué papel debe tener la mujer en el futuro en Catalunya? Quin paper hauria de tenir la dona en el futur a Cataluyna?
Que piensas de los movimientos sociales de ahora? / Què penses/penseu dels moviments socials d'ara?
Hay mas posibilidades para mujeres aquí comparado con tu país? / Hi ha mes possibilitats per a dones aquí comparat amb el teu país?
(discriminación laboral/social por ser mujer, aquí/tu país / discriminació laboral/social per ser dona, aquí/el teu país)

General prompts
En mi país hay gente que dicen que hay demasiada inmigración, cómo es aquí? Qué piensas tú? Al meu país hi ha gent que diuen que hi ha massa immigració, com és aquí? Què penses/penseu tu?
Has notado algun tipo de racismo en el pueblo hacia los inmigrantes?
Se integran con la gente de aquí? S'integren amb la gent d'aquí?

Appendix III: Key word search – Antconc Corpus Text Analysis

LANGUAGE	INTEGRATION	IDENTITY
llengua / lengua	immigració / inmigración	identitat / identidad
idioma	immigrante / inmigrante	terra / tierra / arrel / raíz
català / catalán	racisme / racism	nació / nación
castellà / castellano	cultura	història / historia
Franco / dictadura	valors / valores	poble / pueblo
règim / régimen	de fora / de fuera	bandera / senyera / estelada
llegir / leer	estranger/a / extranjero/a	dona / mujer home / hombre
escriure / escribir	integració / integración	mare / madre pare / padre
prohibe / prohibició/n	costums / costumbres	familia / nom / nombre
	religió / religión	cultura

Appendix IV: Codebooks

Codebook LANGUAGE

Major themes	Sub-themes	Examples from Data
Repression	Private/public	*sempre la meva àvia i em deia sobretot no, no diguis res quan sortís de casa perquè saps que el teu oncle o el teu pare poden acabar al presó* (my grandmother always told me, above all, don't say anything when you leave home because you know that your uncle or your father could end up in prision)
	Resistance	*la maestra era catalana, lo que era de leer, leerlo todo, er los libros en castellano, pero ella hacia las clases en catalán. Nosotras nos expresábamos en catalán* (the teacher was Catalan, reading, everything we read, the books were in Castilian, but she taught the classes in Catalan. We expressed ourselves in Catalan)
	Language maintenance	*tot el que va poder les va ensenyar els seus fils oralment, així el meu avi al meu pare, i el meu pare ens el va ensenyar a nosaltres* (anyone who could would teach their children orally, my grandfather did it that way with my father and my father taught them to us)
Transition	Rebuilding	*el català ha sigut autodidàctic, o sigui hem après el català començant a llegir i després atrevint-nos a escriure* (Catalan was self-taught, I mean, first we learned Catalan through reading and later by daring to write)
	Re-establishing language	*para mí fue muy guapo la normalización de la lengua […] estudie catalán que ya era cuando ya habían hecho la normalización y había del ayuntamiento y había una profesora de catalán, un consorcio catalán* (for me it was really nice the normalisation of the language […]I studied Catalan after the normalisation through the town hall and there was a Catalan teacher, a Catalan consortium)
	Spanish migrants	*pero la verdad es que no me he puesto nunca, no, y a lo mejor lo hablo, no? Pero como si me diera vergüenza!* (the truth is I have never tried, no, and maybe I could speak it ok, no?)
Changing attitudes	Younger generation	*és una cosa que és molt er especial de dir que només ho parlem els els catalans no? its something that is very er special to say that only us Catalans speak it, no?*
	Catalans vs Spanish migrants	*me da mucha rabia que por un lado entiendo pero me da mucha rabia yo siendo maestra no puedo trabajar, no puedo ejercer como maestra sin sin tener catalán* (it makes me very angry, on one side I understand but it makes me really angry as a teacher I can't work, I can't work as a teacher without having Catalan)
	New migrants	*porque ya mucha gente da por sentado que que por el hecho de ser de fuera no lo hablas'* (because many people take it as given that the fact that you are not from here you don't speak it)
	Older generation	*jo abans parlava mes el castella, quan sortia i veia algú que em parlava en castella, li parlava en castella però ara no, ara parlo amb tothom en català* (before I spoke more in Castilian, if I went out and someone spoke to me in Castilian, I would reply in Castilian, but not now, now I speak in Catalan with everyone)

Code book INTEGRATION & MIGRATION

Major themes	Sub-themes	Examples from Data
Language	Importance speaking Catalan	*claro, es el mismo país, la única cosa era la lengua que no la cambiaron […] aun la cuarta generación continua con el castellano* (of course, it's the same country, the only thing was the language that they didn't change […] the fourth generation still continue speaking Castilian)
	Education	*l'escola és un entorn molt important d'integracio no nomes dels nens sino tambe dels pares* (school is a very important environment for integration not only for the children but also for the parents)
	Ethnic group differences	*els musulmans dic jo que veus mes differencies amb ells [...] els xinos es adapten, intenten parlar l'idioma, er jo si vaig al xinos em parla en catala* (the Muslims, I mean, I see more differences with them [...] the Chinese adapt, they try to speak the language, if I go to a Chinese shop they speak to me in Catalan)
	Migrants' perspectives	*la primera vez que yo me sentí inmigrante ha sido aquí. No en Murcia, en Murcia no, sigue siendo España. Pero, aquí, porque la lengua hace un montón* (The first time I felt like an immigrant was here. Not in Murcia, in Murcia no, it's still Spain. But here, because the language makes a massive difference)
Place	Private	*a casa estoy haciendo como Marruecos […] Como es tu casa no pasa nada* (at home I do as I would in Morocco […] As you are in your home, it's fine)
	Public	*voy a conciertos, voy a bibliotecas voy a parques de niños, donde están las magrebís* (I go to libraries, I go to children's parks, where are the Maghreb women?)
	Divided village	*penso que es continuan mantenint dos pobles […] no és no és el poble d'abaix* (I think there are still two villages, it is not the same as the village down the hill)
Cultural differences	Headscarf	*si ets dona, ets musulmana i portes el vel, ja eres triplement discriminada* (if you're a women, muslim and you wear a headscarf, then you're triply discriminated)
	Religion	s*i s'integren, cap problema, mentres que no s'ens facin jihidistes* (if they integrate then no problem, as long as they they don't turn us into jihadists)
	Values	*si l'inmigracio es europea, els valors son differents* (if it is European immigration the values are different)
	Customs	*veig que els altres baillen Sevillanes i fem coses molt differents, tenim interessos molt differents* (I see that the others dance Sevillanas and we do very different things, we have very different interests)
	Class	*si eres pobre eres un moro, pero si eres rico eres un árabe* (if you're poor you're a moro, if you rich you're an Arab)

Codebook IDENTITY

Major themes	Sub-themes	Examples from Data
Language as identity marker	Ethnolinguistic	*els que som catalans catalans que estimem l'idioma el pitjor és treure la seva arrel* (those of us who are Catalan Catalan who love the language it's the worst thing they could do – to pull up their roots)
	Bilingual / multilingual	*hablo perfectamente catalán y pienso a veces en catalán y me gusta también hablar en catalán igual que me gusta hablar en castellano pero combino las dos lenguas* (I speak perfect Catalan and I think sometimes in Catalan I like to speak it just as I like to speak Castilian and I combine both languages)
	Difference	*quieras que no sí que constituye pues una cierta identidad, no? Mas que nada que te separa que te diferencia bueno te diferencia del resto* (whether you like it or not this does constitute a certain identity more than anything it separates you it differentiates you well, it differentiates you from the rest)
National identity construction	Authentic Catalan	*Sóc d'una família molt catalana per part de pare i mare el meu avi: va estar a la guerra […] va lluitar contra el exèrcit nacional* (I'm from a very Catalan family from both my mother's and father's side, my grandfather was in the war […]he fought against the national army)
	'Inauthentic' Catalan	*Soy catalana catalana y las que sus padres no nacieron aquí son catalanas pero no es lo mismo. No lo digo como separatista pero no tienen la misma cultura* (I'm Catalan Catalan and those whose parents weren't born here they're Catalans but it's not the same. I'm not saying this as a separatist but they don't have the same culture)
	History, myth, culture	*el futbol club Barcelona i el Palau de la Música van ser les dues entitats que Franco va fer tancar culturalment i per això està com tot lligat, en el fons hi ha coses d'arreu que són importants* (Barcelona football club and the *Palau de la Música* were the two cultural institutions that Franco shut down and that's why it's all sort of connected, deep down there are roots that are important)
	Migrant national identity	*es la identidad que no tiene er a ver no tiene que significar er el el porque sepas catalán seas mas catalán o menos catalán ni er ni me voy a sentir mas ni me voy a sentir menos* (is its identity that it doesn't have to let's see just because you know more or less Catalan it doesn't mean er I'm not going to feel more or less)
Transnational identity	Food	*en Cuaresma se hacen los buñuelos pues nosotros seguimos haciendo las rosquillas que hacían en el pueblo* (during Lent they make the buñuelos here well we continue making the doughnuts that they make in my village)
	Hybrid identity	sóc Català o sóc marroquí o sóc ? Perque si sóc del mig […] el nen li doní valor a la seva cultura a les dues cultures perquè les dues són seves o sigui no és podrà desfer d'una vull dir (am I Catalan or Moroccan or what am I?' Because I'm from in-between […] the kid is able to value his culture, both of them because both are his I mean he can't detach himself from one)
	Transnational ties	*estamos mezclados eh […] yo creo cuando vayas a otro sitio esto también lo llevas eh, lo enseñas* (we're mixed, eh […] when you go to another place you take it with you, eh, you teach it)

Codebook WOMEN AND NATION

Major themes	Sub-themes	Examples from Data
Catalan national identity construction	National sentiment	*#VotarePerTu #votarePerTotsNosaltres pels q no ens sentim espanyols, pels que volem la llibertar, en definitiva els que ens sentim catalans* (#IWillVoteForYou #IwillvoteForAllofUs for those of us who don't feel Spanish, for those of us who want freedom, in short, for those of us who feel Catalan)
	Collective history	*Pels meus avis, mestres de la República i represaliats pel franquisme #VotaréPerTu* (For my grandparents, teachers of the Republic and victims of Francoist retaliation. #Iwillvoteforyou)
	Common culture	*#VotarePerTu, 'cavall fort', la revista que, encara que dirigida als infants, em va obrir els ulls a la cultura escrita catalana (*#Iwillvoteforyou, 'cavall fort', the magazine that, even though it was for children, opened my eyes to Catalan written culture)
	Shared destiny	*#VotarePerTu, per la lluita que hem compartit i perquè seguim tenint tot un futur per començar! (#IWillVoteForYou, for the struggle we have shared and because we have a whole future to begin!)*
Gender and nation	Women and work	*era dificil trobar feina per a vàries raons […] el fet de ser separada i tenir una criatura era una cosa que no les empreses no encaixava* (it was difficult to find work for various reasons […] being separated and having a kid was something that no it didn't fit in with companies)
	Division of labour	*me ayudo yo siempre digo ayudar pero no porque me tiene que ayudar la casa es de los dos y seguimos diciendo eso ayudar* (I always say help but no, why should he help me? The house is both of ours and we still keep saying this help)
	Motherhood	*Vota l'ocell, el riu, la planta, vota la lluna i el sol. Tot treballant la dona vota i vota al peu del bressol* (The bird, the river, the plant votes, the moon and the sun votes. Whilst working the woman votes, and she votes from the foot of the cradle)
	Politics	*Hi ha dones dins dels partits que és molt clar que s'han incorporat a la vida política quan els fills ja són grans i per tant això vol dir que arribes a la cursa amb desavantatge!* (There are women in the parties that it's clear that they have got into political life when their children have grown up and therefore that means that you start the race with a disadvantage!)
	Invisible women	*Només surt una dona front 17 homes als cartells...casualitat o patriarcat? La nostra història esta plena de dones lluitadores, creadores i/o artistes!* (Only one woman appears next to 17 men in the photos…coincidence or patriarchal? Our history is full of courageous, inventive and artistic women!)

Appendix V: Participant consent form (English/Catalan/Spanish)

University of Roehampton London

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

CONSENTIMENT INFORMAT / CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Title of Research Project: What the women have to say: women's perspectives on language, identity and nation in Cataluña

Escoltem a les dones: Perspectives de la dona sobre la llengua, identitat y nació a Catalunya.

Escuchamos a las mujeres: Perspectivas de la mujer sobre la lengua, identidad y nación en Cataluña

Brief Description of Research Project, and What Participation Involves:
Aquesta investigació es un estudi sobre l'ús de català en las practiques socials quotidianes de las dones que viuen en El Masnou.
El propòsit d'aquest estudi es d'aportar una major comprensió de l'ús del català y els possibles canvis de la llengua durant els últims 50 anys, des dels últims 15 anys de la dictadura, els anys de la Transició i fins al present.
Vostè esta convidada a participar en aquest estudi realitzant una entrevista informal/grup focal d'unes dues hores de duració, que serà gravada. L'entrevista pot tenir lloc al seu domicili o en un bar del poble. El meu objectiu es d'entrevistar a un total de 48 dones.
La investigació forma part del meu doctorat universitari i el seu testimoni serà llegit únicament per professors de la Universitat y avaluadors de la meva tesis. Els resultats d'aquesta investigació podrien ser publicats en el futur (en una revista acadèmica/llibre) i existeix la possibilitat de presentar l'estudi en una exposició en el poble. A més, per preservar el material per a generacions futures, serà depositat en l'arxiu municipal d'El Masnou. En tot moment el seu anonimat serà guardat, a menys que vostè doni el seu consentiment.
Esta investigación es un estudio sobre el uso de catalán en las prácticas sociales cotidianas de las mujeres viviendo en El Masnou.

El propósito de este estudio es de aportar una mayor comprensión sobre el uso del catalán y los posibles cambios del mismo durante los últimos 50 años, desde los últimos 15 años de dictadura, los años de la Transición, hasta el presente.
Vd. esta invitada a participar en este estudio realizando una entrevista informal/grupo focal grabada de unas dos horas de duración. La entrevista puede tener lugar en su domicilio o en un bar del pueblo. Mi objetivo es de entrevistar a un total de 48 mujeres.
La investigación forma parte de mi doctorado universitario y su testimonio será leído por profesores de la Universidad y evaluadoras de mi tesis. Los resultados de esta investigación pueden ser publicados en el futuro (en una revista académica/libro) y existe la posibilidad de presentar el estudio en una exposición en el pueblo.

Asimismo, con la finalidad de preservar el material para futuras generaciones, será depositado en el archive municipal de El Masnou. En todo momento, su anonimato será guardado.

The purpose of this study is to examine women's use of Catalan in their social practices as part of their construction of gendered and national subjectivities. The focus of the study will be three female 'generations' during a half-century of dramatic historical transformation in Spain and Cataluña from the 1960s to the present. I aim to interview a total of approximately 48 women.

Should you wish to participate in this study, you will be asked to take part in an informal interview/focus group which should last approximately two hours and will be recorded with your consent. The interview can take place in your own home or in the local café.
The study forms part of my PhD and your testimony will only be read by University professors and examiners of my work. The findings of this study may be published in the future in the form of a book or academic article. There is also the possibility of presenting this research in a local exhibition and, in order to preserve this resource for future generations, the material will be deposited in the local archives. Your anonymity will be protected at all times.

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Consent Statement:
Dono el meu consentiment a participar en una entrevista/grup focal gravada que forma part d'aquesta investigació, i entenc que extractes del meu testimoni poden ser utilitzats en l'estudi. He llegit la descripció de la investigació i entenc que la meva participació es voluntària. Puc negar-me a participar o renunciar a participar en qualsevol moment i entenc que informació ja donada pot ser utilitzada en els resultats de l'estudi.
Si en qualsevol moment tinc alguna pregunta sobre la investigació o la meva participació, puc posar-me en contacte amb la investigadora, Mandie Iveson, qui respondrà a les meves preguntes. Si tinc comentaris o preocupacions sobre la investigació, puc contactar amb una persona independent de la Universitat (dades a continuació).

Entenc que el meu testimoni serà tractat amb confidencialitat per la investigadora, Mandie Iveson. La meva identitat no serà divulgada y el meu anonimat serà guardat en qualsevol publicació que pogués sorgir.
Consiento a participar en una entrevista/grupo focal grabada que forma parte de esta investigación, y entiendo que extractos de mi testimonio pueden ser utilizados en el estudio. He leído la descripción de la investigación y entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria. Puedo negarme a participar o renunciar a participar en cualquier momento y entiendo que información ya dada puede ser utilizada en los resultados del estudio.
Si en algún momento tengo alguna pregunta sobre la investigación o mi participación, puedo ponerme en contacto con la investigadora, Mandie Iveson, quien responderá a mis preguntas. Si tengo comentarios o preocupaciones sobre la investigación, puedo contactar con una persona independiente de la Universidad (datos a continuación).

Entiendo que mi testimonio será tratado con confidencialidad por la investigadora, Mandie Iveson. Mi identidad no será divulgada y mi anonimato será guardado en cualquier publicación que pudiera surgir.

I agree to take part in this research and give consent to recording the interview/focus group and use of extracts from the interview transcripts. I am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

Nom/Nombre/Name …….
Signatura/Firma/Signature ……
Data/Fecha/Date ……
Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

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